

The Social Studies

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Contents

Commemorating 1848	Arthur J. May	339
Education and Human Welfare	Ralph B. Guinness	341
Free Enterprise in the United States	John R. Craf	343
William Morris: Social Idealist	Ione Hansome	346
Lincoln, the Governors, and States' Rights	William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf	350
A Critical Battle of Modern Times	Beverly A. Cole	355
The Man Who Named Antarctica and His Expedition	Elsie B. Farrow	359
Visual and Other Aids	Irwin A. Eckhauser	364
News and Comment	Leonard B. Irwin	365
Book Reviews and Book Notes	David W. Harr	369
Current Publications Received		380
Index to Volume XXXIX		381

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DECEMBER, 1948

Commemorating 1848

ARTHUR J. MAY

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Revolutionary events of 1848 were commemorated this spring and summer throughout western and central Europe.

Newspapers, current periodicals, learned and popular, and several noteworthy books spread before their readers fresh interpretations of the mid-nineteenth century upheavals. Distinguished European historical scholars in a dozen centers of learning and visiting American lecturers revived memories of the exciting, though, in the main, indecisive convulsions of a century ago. Inescapably parallels with present-day Europe were drawn as, for example, when General Charles de Gaulle and his rather inchoate but nonetheless dynamic *Rally* movement was likened to the upthrust and march to victory of Louis Napoleon in the uncertain, fluid France of 1848.

Centennial celebrations of more than local significance were staged in mid-May at Frankfurt-am-Main, meeting-place of the famous German National Parliament of 1848 and the prospective capital of the West German state, struggling to be born with the military governors of the western Allies acting as midwives. Amidst the indescribable ruin and chaos of bomb-shattered Frankfurt—a contemporary Sodom and Gomorrah like every other populous German city—German intellectuals and politicians delivered stirring addresses harking back to the struggles of 1848, and summoning their countrymen to respond to the ideals of freedom and national unity which animated the moving spirits of a century ago.

In an address at the Frankfurt festivities, which was extensively commented on in the

newsprint-starved press of western Europe, Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago implored German educators not to imitate American practices in higher education as they move along in the gigantic task of university rehabilitation. University learning in the United States, he declared, is chaotic, overemphasizes specialization (an observation which must have seemed to a German audience like carrying wood into a forest), and was seriously handicapped by student devotion to extra-curricular activities.

Appropriately, the celebrations in Frankfurt centered on the Church of St. Paul, in which the German assemblymen of 1848 carried on their impassioned yet fruitless deliberations. Severely battered by air raids in the war, the church has been partly rebuilt and is held together by an elaborate tracery of iron-pipes, pending the completion of the reconstruction process.

At Vienna the commemoration of 1848 was calculated to awaken in the "average citizen" the meaning of the revolutionary year and its bearing upon problems of the present. More or less popular treatises on the Vienna Revolution were written by Dr. Alexander Novotny, *1848*, by Dr. Robert Endres, *Wien, 1848*, a study in keeping with standard rules of historical composition, and by Dr. Ernst Fischer, spoken of as the brains of Austrian Communism, *Oesterreich, 1848*. Fischer sees the revolution through the colored lenses of Marxian ideology. These works, priced to appeal to the slender Viennese purse, attracted large audiences.

The unique feature of the commemoration in

Vienna was a magnificent Exhibition in the imposing City Hall. Artistically, and as a means of making the past vivid, the Exhibition ranked with the best of historical displays. Scores of clever artists and architects, whose services are not in much demand in the Vienna of the moment, as well as experts in history, contributed their talents to the Exhibition.

Street fighting, barricades, destruction of life and property, duplicating episodes in Vienna's recent history, figured prominently in the Centennial Exhibition. Room after room in the City Hall contained pictures, cartoons, brochures, and other printed materials of the revolutionary period, together with costumes worn by the peoples in the multi-nationality Hapsburg realm of 1848.

An instructive diagram brought back to life the Austrian social classes as they existed a century ago. The imperial ruler stood at the top, followed in order by the "sword nobility," princes, counts, and barons, and the "nobility by letter," embracing top-ranking army officials and policymaking bureaucrats. Next came the wealthy bourgeoisie—banker, merchant, and professional man, each of them, like others on the graph, attired in the distinctive clothing of his class. The petite bourgeoisie, shopkeeper, skilled artisan and the lesser bureaucracy, preceded the peasantry, both freemen and serf. Students, who played an active role in the revolutionary drama, more especially in its initial phases, formed a special category and the proletariat of factory worker and unskilled laborer stood at the bottom of the ladder.

A familiar photograph of Karl Marx reminded visitors to the Exhibition that the chief author of the "Communist Manifesto," which had come off the press early in 1848 but had no discoverable influence upon the insurgents, resided in Vienna for ten days in the late summer of 1848. While there he addressed several gatherings of rebels, explaining to them, no doubt, his novel revolutionary doctrines.

The larger results of the revolution, which outrode the furies of the counter-revolution, were listed item by item: (1) for the bourgeoisie—broadened economic opportunities and a share, a small one, in public affairs; (2) for enshackled rustics—emancipation from feudal burdens and exactions; (3) the realization by manual workers for the first time of their strength and potentialities (the Vienna municipal government under whose auspices the Exhibition was arranged is today controlled by democratic Socialists, whose principal supporters are trade unionists); (4) for the city of Vienna—the beginnings of an elected municipal council; and (5) stimulus to national feelings and separatist sentiments among the subject nationalities of the empire.

From the Exhibition of 1848 inspiration was drawn for the present. Even as the ancient *Kulturstadt* on the Danube recovered from the revolutionary storms and moved on to progressive democratization, so, the moral was pointed, Vienna would surmount the wreckage and dislocations of World War II and advance to newer and pleasanter levels of human achievement and well-being.

As a final exhibit, a painting showed a stalwart woman carrying a flaming torch and symbolizing the invincible will to live of the present-day Viennese. Beneath the picture ran the clarion call: "In the spirit of the fighters of 1848, Freedom, Progress, Democracy."

Endres brings his narrative of the revolutionary year to a close with this eloquent passage: "Twice the Austrian state has been torn asunder: in 1918 the old Austria, in 1938, the first Austrian Republic. But the Republic has been resurrected and with that a fresh foundation has been laid for the progressive democratic development of our Fatherland. The promotion of democracy, active cooperation in the building of an Austria, free and democratic, must be the aim and purpose of all who would prove worthy of the glorious heritage of the Viennese revolutionary fighter of 1848."

Education and Human Welfare

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The continued existence of many social problems in our own and other nations indicates that the kind of education that has been practiced has not served as a panacea for their solution. Perhaps if education were different it might aid. Most certainly our schools have not given a qualitative education of objective fact based on moral and democratic principles. For example, the schools have not taught the social studies by and for scientific methods of inquiry and evaluation. They have taught an acceptance of institutions as being in conformity with high ideals. They have not taught pupils to evaluate institutions by the criteria of principles of democracy, for example.

Undoubtedly our global social ills are many: wars, dictatorships, strikes, depressions, poverty, low living standards, unemployment, crime, and plutocratic governments. Then too, Marxian critics of society declare that capitalism is economically unjust. In the United States, at least, some persons do not consider these conditions as anything out of the ordinary. To them they represent life. To some they are the price we pay for the benefits of social progress arising from such conditions which they call competitive. To other persons they represent problems about which nothing can be done as they allege that they are due to human nature. In general, many believe that these are insoluble problems, or mere shortcomings in an otherwise perfect society which they declare represents democracy. Other persons simply deny that they constitute problems at all.

However, whether, or not, one considers these conditions as ills, problems or shortcomings, it is possible that education can make social improvements if there is, in two respects at least, a reorientation of thought. One is that the chief object of society and education be that of *Human Welfare* and the other is that we educate by scientific methods of thinking and learning.

For those who believe that there are pressing social problems their concern should be for

human welfare based upon moral and democratic principles. National welfare would be a part of such universal welfare. National welfare would be achieved to the extent that it serves that of mankind. It should become the fashion to say that no nation is entitled to a welfare which is inimical to that of others.

This view is not usually taken since most of us are ethnocentric in our outlook in life. This arises in part from the fact that our lives are dominated by a type of nationalism contrary to moral principles. We all live in nations independent of each other, free to compete against each other for power, trade and prestige for the national self-interest, or welfare. This is nationalism as an end in itself. We should consider nationalism as a means of human unity. As long as we are ethnocentric in our living and thinking we shall all think of national welfare as something distinct from moral and human welfare. Thus future concern for national welfare will probably proceed along the lines of the past: the making of improvements within the nation to improve the morale and unity, loyalty and patriotism, and the health and efficiency of citizens so that one's nation can compete better against another. Such competition is not designed to make greater contributions to mankind but to make the nation secure. But each nation's insecurity is caused by the fact of its independence of other nations and its competition with others for power, and so forth.

Such national welfare is well evidenced by the benevolent paternalism of national states in the late eighteenth century when reforms were made to lessen discontent within the state. In 1884 a new kind of national welfare was begun in Germany under Bismarck. He introduced social insurance laws to destroy the growing support for socialism and to make for healthy and contented citizens. Since that time social insurance has spread to all the nations of the world. As fear of, and preparations for, war continue, all nations quite likely will introduce more social welfare legislation for the purpose of improving morale, loyalty and ef-

iciency both in industry and in military life. If and when another war comes, more cooperative and communal effort will undoubtedly be made to care for the civilian victims of war. This occurred in Britain and in Germany, for example, in the last war. Bombed-out populations had to be fed, clothed and housed communally. Thus capitalist nations will probably become more socialized. Russia, as it competes for power and security, will probably become more militarized. If one or more wars are not catastrophic there probably will be more government action for national welfare.

Education, however, ought to serve not only to abolish war but to bring about social service within the nations for the social good of the people, not as a matter of military and political wisdom and expediency, but as a moral right. This can only be done if we think in terms of human welfare.

Education should place stress on living not only in a democratic nation but in a democratic world society in which nations cooperate for mutual good rather than to make war on each other. It can only do so if it makes the major question a problem of what is good for mankind and not, as at present, what is good for the nation. Even from the latter viewpoint the answer should be that the only kind of nationalism, or national welfare, that is pragmatic, as well as moral, is that which is a means to human welfare.

This viewpoint can be reached if it is taught. To be taught all of our instruction, particularly in the social studies, should be qualitative and scientific. We must put into practice universally accepted principles that are too little practiced. We must teach an evaluation of national and world institutions in the light of accepted criteria of morality, democracy and objective facts. Stress must be placed on the collection and study of data and the evaluation thereof. Suspended judgment must be taught, namely, that as far as we know we have sound information and premises and that therefore certain conclusions seem inevitable or logical.

This qualitative method of learning would include teaching pupils to ask if the information they learn in school, or out of it, is truthful and moral; to ask if the information is based upon reliable original sources and is reliably

written up or presented. They must be taught a critical literacy: to ask if what they read is truthful. They must learn, for example, good reading habits rather than to learn to read "good newspapers." They must not take for granted the habits and ideas of the particular or general environment in which they have been reared. They must prove the objectivity and morality of what they have been told to believe, or what they want to believe. They must learn to distinguish between testimony and evidence. They must learn that all of us must act upon assumptions but that we must all learn to check their correctness and morality. They must develop a critical, honest, objective intelligence so that they may not only know what constitutes moral and democratic principles but may also know whether, or not, these are practiced, or to what extent they have been realized.

In general, education if taught in accord with universally accepted principles should develop wholesome democratically integrated personalities. Facts, intelligence, and the whole intellectual process of learning are but one phase of the necessary moral, democratic, psychological education of each individual. Only a society and education in accord with the principles of mental hygiene and morality will eliminate the insecurities and conflicts which menace the happiness of mankind. Only democratic psychologies, institutions and education within each nation can establish the foundations for international cooperation so necessary for human welfare.

If we would solve man's ills we must choose between competition for ends sought at each others' expense and cooperation for mutual good. Society, democracy, welfare or morality can only be interpreted to mean cooperation. We cannot live *on* society—exploiting each other within and among nations—and expect to live *in* society. If we would put an end to the many problems of insecurities and conflicts, we must change our concepts. We must change from thinking about national welfare to human welfare and from education to maintain the status quo, for national welfare, to education for social change for a dynamic world society of democracy and peace (security with liberty and justice). Such changes imply an altera-

tion of the ethic of the "end justifies the means" to that of "the means justifies the end."

If education is to serve human welfare particularly by abolishing war, the most apparent enemy of human welfare, the time is short in this age of possible atomic and other scientific means of warfare. To effectuate changes in time the *primary need* is the education or re-

education, of adults. In some way adults must be sent back to school, and to schools which practice the accepted ends and methods of education. For if adults are not educated and fit to give their children a world safe and just to live in, most certainly the schools at present are not fitted to educate the adults or their children.

Free Enterprise in the United States

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Free enterprise is an economic system under which individuals and private organizations undertake business ventures on their own initiative, at their own risk, carry them on in their own way, and enjoy the profits or suffer the losses. The principles involved in a system of free enterprise are:

1. Reward or compensation which provides a strong and proper incentive for the owner of the business.
2. Private ownership which holds that the individual is entitled to own and keep the accumulated reward of his enterprise.
3. Validity of contract which is upheld in a system of free enterprise. Individuals and organizations are assured that contracts are sacred and that they can be enforced in the courts of law if necessary.
4. Competition which holds that business operates most efficiently when a competitive economy prevails.

Free enterprise is often linked to the policy of *laissez faire*, which implies a complete absence of government activity relating to business; in reality, this situation has probably never existed. A more moderate view of *laissez faire* was expressed by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* in which he stated that it "implies absence of government regulation of business except to protect society and each member thereof from violence, injustice, or oppression."

There is ample evidence, for example, that regulation of business enterprise prevailed in

England as early as 1552. The English statutes of that day made criminal such offenses as forestalling, which was a practice of buying goods on the way to market and withholding such goods to obtain higher prices. Conspiracy in spreading false reports for the purpose of increasing the price of food commonly known as re-grating was also deemed illegal according to the English statutes. Between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, there developed in most European states a more or less coherent body of practices called mercantilism. Mercantilism was aimed at the development of national power and coupled with this theory came a definite regulation of business practices. This doctrine applied to the American colonies by England involved regulation of colonial imports and exports, restrictions on intercolonial trade, and restrictions on manufacturers; ocean transportation was closely controlled as was migration of certain skilled craftsmen.

After independence had been won by the colonies, the United States entered a period of rugged individualism and free-for-all competition. This type of competition characterized the business structure until well into the latter part of the nineteenth century. Certain factors contributed to this situation. There was ample opportunity and unlimited resources; it was relatively easy for a producer or merchant to enter business; there were few understandings, combinations, or restrictions against newcomers in the matter of business; and inefficient institutions rapidly fell by the wayside.

Conditions changed rapidly during the latter portion of the nineteenth century. Under the impetus of the Industrial Revolution, business units expanded rapidly, industry became more largely mechanized, and large scale production entered the American scene. A rapid transformation from an agrarian economy to an industrial economy took place in the United States. Business giants waged unequal war against smaller business enterprise. America entered an era of relative price rigidity, uniformity, and control by business groups.

The federal government thereupon began a struggle to maintain free competition. While some controls had been enacted during the middle portion of the nineteenth century, such as the National Banking Act of 1863 and the Interstate Commerce Commission Act of 1887, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 was the first step in government regulation of business. The Sherman Act of 1890 forbids contracts, combinations, or conspiracies in restraint of trade; and monopolies or attempts to monopolize any part of a trade were declared illegal. The Sherman law was followed a quarter century later by the Clayton Act of 1914 and the Federal Trade Commission Act of the same year.

The Federal Trade Commission, established under the Federal Trade Commission Act, consists of five commissioners appointed by the President for a period of seven years. The general purpose of the work of the Commission is threefold:

1. To promote free and fair competition in interstate commerce.
2. To safeguard the life and health of the consuming public by preventing the dissemination of false advertising.
3. To make available to Congress, the President, and the public factual data concerning economic and business conditions.

The Clayton Act of the same year defined as unfair trade practices:

1. Price discrimination among different purchasers.
2. Holding stock of another corporation where this would substantially lessen competition.
3. Interlocking directorates.

4. Relation of railroads with construction companies.

The policy of the federal government from 1890 until the late 1920's was largely one of maintaining free and unhampered competition. There were two exceptions to this policy. One was the tariff on imports which hampered competition in the matter of international trade and exceptions from the provisions of the Clayton Act of export trade combinations specifically permitted under the Webb-Pomerene Act of 1918. Farm cooperative organizations and labor organizations were also exempt from the provisions of the Clayton Act.

Since 1929 the policy of the federal government has been to retreat from unrestricted competition. This by no means implies abandonment of America's desire to maintain competition or a reversal of our fundamental policy or attitude. It means that America is more realistic and appreciates the fact that under modern conditions certain types of competition may be as harmful as certain types of monopoly. Consequently, attempts have been made by the federal government to put restraints on competition by such acts as:

1. The Agricultural Marketing Act, 1929,
2. The Agricultural Adjustment Act, 1933,
3. The National Industrial Recovery Act, 1933,
4. The Robinson-Patman Act, 1936,
5. The Miller-Tydings Act, 1937,
6. The Wheeler-Lea Act, 1938.

Federal legislation has been supplemented by the legislation of numerous states. More than twenty states have enacted chain store tax laws on which taxes are imposed upon chain units located within a particular state. In addition to this, most of the states now have fair trade laws under which resale price maintenance may now legally prevail in the matter of intrastate commerce.

Regulation in business enterprise invades every area of economic activity. Most of such regulations are accepted by the general public without undue comment. Numerous examples may be cited. For example, prescriptions must be filled only by licensed pharmacists; certain drugs, notably those containing narcotics, can be sold only on a physician's prescription; potatoes to be graded "Grade A" must have a

minimum diameter of $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches; an electric, gas, or telephone company cannot be formed without specific authority, usually from a state public utility commission; and if one wishes to build a house, certain zoning laws must be complied with. Doctors, lawyers, dentists, nurses and others must pass State Board Examinations and child labor and women workers can be employed only under certain specified conditions.

Thus we may perceive three major cycles in business regulation as applied to free enterprise in the United States between 1776 and 1940. These are:

1. 1776-1890, free-for-all competition and rugged individualism.
2. 1890-1929, government regulation to maintain free competition.
3. 1929-1940, government regulation restricting competition.

During the period 1940-1946, the nation entered a period of government control rather than regulation. The federal government dominated the American scene as never before. Every industrial plant that was constructed required government authorization, raw materials were placed under strict government control, wages were controlled, and prices were held down by order of the federal government. Scarce and essential commodities were rationed to provide fair and equitable distribution to the civilian population, labor was recruited and guided by the War Manpower Commission, and a peacetime drafting of physically fit young men was initiated for the first time in American history. The fact that strict governmental control in business was needed became evident as early as 1941. In that year the manufacturing industries of the United States produced three million seven hundred thousand refrigerators, one and one-half million typewriters, and five million motor vehicles decorated with chrome and other essential materials. While tank production reached 700 a month and airplane production 2,000 a month, it was amply evident by the latter portion of 1941 that the United States could not do a two-fold job.

In the matter of regulation of business enterprise during World War II, the United States' record is better than during World War I. In contrast to World War I, America was engaged

in fighting for a little more than a month before the production of passenger automobiles was ordered abandoned. In World War I, attempts to curtail automobile production met serious resistance and not until the spring of 1918, as the Germans drove towards the English Channel, did Bernard M. Baruch get through a curtailment order on passenger automobile production. While the record during World War II in some controls is strong, it is weak in other respects. Not until 1942, for example, did the Office of Price Administration get the necessary enforcement powers to put teeth in its regulations.

The record after the war was a rush to return to free enterprise in the United States. The release of business and industry controls was believed by many to have been too rapid. Materials controls were rapidly eliminated, rationing was curtailed, and War Manpower Commission restrictions were lifted.

In reference to large scale industry, the United States appears in a small measure to be returning at the present time to the system of priorities and allocations of World War II, with direct control by government of some types of business. The Selective Service Act of 1948, for example, contains a plant seizure and felony punishment provision. A portion of this law specifies that the President is empowered to place mandatory orders with any industry for articles needed by the armed forces or by the Atomic Energy Commission and to seize plants and penalize persons and corporations if there is a wilful failure to carry out duties imposed by mandatory orders. Another provision of the act provides in effect that small business should be granted a fair share of contracts and there is also a provision that military orders requiring steel be placed in a priority position ahead of all other orders by steel mills or steel products manufacturers with violators subject to plant seizure, imprisonment, and fines up to \$50,000.

It is probably fair to state that the trend towards government regulation during the last few decades has been increasing. However, as groups within an economy come together, friction inevitably arises. There would be no traffic regulations if it were not for the large number of motorists. Unions probably would not exist if manufacturing were conducted on

the basis of working forces of fifty or fewer individuals per plant. So too, if there were not a very large number of businesses within the United States, little government regulation would be needed.

From the list of regulations enumerated—and this is by no means an exhaustive list—one may begin to wonder whether freedom of enterprise really does exist. Are we paying homage to an idea which in practice has long since vanished?

Congressional and business leaders, despite the growth of business regulation, believe that freedom of enterprise continues to exist. An individual is free to choose the pursuit which

he desires to follow in the manner of his own choice and he is also free to abandon it at will. An individual is free to buy from anyone who is willing to sell and free to sell to anyone who is willing to buy. He has the right not only to select his own occupation but also to devote his free time to those things which are of greatest interest to him and which he enjoys the most. Under such a system, the government confines its activities principally to the suppression of fraud and violence, to the enforcement of contracts, and to other matters affecting the general welfare. Even the government is made up of individuals, so that the rules of conduct and welfare regulations may be changed when found to be unsuitable or undesirable.

William Morris: Social Idealist

IONE HANSOME

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In a recent study the writer has attempted to show that as an individual identifies himself with a great cause his personality grows and integrates concomitantly toward social maturity. He thus achieves self-transcendence. William Morris, English poet and artist, is an apt example of this kind of social and intellectual growth, and no doubt as long as beauty and fellowship are regarded as essential elements of social life, as qualities of significant living, William Morris will be accorded a niche in human appreciation.

Broadly conceived the record we have of the achievements in the various fields of human inquiry may be called social history. And, in that sense, Landor correctly declared that "Every writer is a writer of history, let him treat of what subjects he may." Morris has bequeathed to posterity a good deal of meaningful history which affords the serious reader mental and emotional delight. However, the past to him was not anchorage, but a harbor from which to set sail into the future. Relevant to the role of art and work in the life good to live, he may unqualifiedly be regarded as one of the seminal minds of the nineteenth century.

Words may be employed to conceal, congeal, or reveal thoughts and feelings. Morris, espe-

cially during the latter third of his three score years, used words suffused with moral fervor, intellectual enthusiasm, and political determination that energized the more responsive sector of the British working people. He had found the symbol which expressed what was in the hearts of the vanguard of the work-people. Evidence for this verdict is amply supported by the numerous statements in books and articles by contemporaries, critics, and admirers, and in the fact of the rise of British Labor to the status of the central government.

Morris' influence in that process of social ascendancy will doubtlessly raise the question: What is the style of this man? What manner of writing and speaking helped to leaven the general human lump, and to bestir it to social action? What is the character of the taste which impelled Morris to exert such power among human heads, hands, and hearts?

"Style," said Tolstoi, "is the manner in which an author good or bad uses his symbols." Authors may be either, good, bad, or intermediate, but style is never good or bad, moral or immoral. Styles differ in quality and mode. It would take a long list of adjectives to describe the variations in style. Esoteric, ironic, simple, involved, cadenced, satirical, leisurely, staccato,

dramatic, explosive, belabored, elliptical, and garrulous are examples.

In architecture, style is described in historical, geographical, and decorative terms, such as, Primitive, Arabesque, Classic, Gothic, Byzantine, Romanesque, Renaissance, Baroque, etc. Painting is usually classified in accordance with certain schools historically, geographically, psychologically, and personally designated. This observation would seem to discount somewhat the weight which some critics attach to a unique-individual explanation of art. But, without minimizing the worth and role of the individual in the creative process, it would be socially immoral to ignore the intervening influence of the cultural heritage, the foundation and the rootage of social achievement of which creative genius is the ornate blossom.

Morris was quite aware of his indebtedness to the social inheritance. Indeed, he acknowledged the fact when he justified his selection of the 100 Best Books with the comment: "They are in no sense the words of individuals, but have grown up from the very hearts of the people."

The type is also conditioned by heredity, milieu, education, and accident. The type or modality is a product of a given historical situation, and, like a great public leader, is profoundly dependent upon the supporting foundation. Humanity is the parent of men.

While life is continuously in flux and transition, as Heraclitus clearly saw, the rate of flow and change, the color and composition, the dynamics and statistics of the equilibrium or disequilibrium differ in different historical periods.¹ Morris perceived a rising tide in the feelings of the alert sector of the masses, a tide that could lead to the dawn of a new social horizon. Morris interpreted and canalized that feeling in the direction of the common good. He was a binder of changing times. Triggs appropriately described him as the embodiment of a transition.

How does style affect one this way; another that way? An adequate answer to the query would indicate that style is not merely the manner of a writer; it is more than the expression of an individual. Style is certainly not a superficial and mechanically designed mannerism as

is often characteristic of the merchants of letters or journalistic columnists. Style pertains to the quality of communication of significant experience, to the historical and environmental influences impinging upon personality, to the psychological climate of an author's relationship to his readers. It is perhaps more true to say that a great book contains both a man and a system. In that sense, style is symbolic expression of a point of view or a philosophy. Here, then, we have a stamp of individuality and sociality imposed upon certain materials. So conceived, style may become a powerful arresting instrument for the evocation of beautiful feeling, clarified perception and cognition, and an inclusive will.

This brings us to the twilight zone between style and taste. Style is an aspect or a quality of taste. Taste is the more comprehensive term. Within the limits of a figure of speech, taste may be likened to the ground swell of the sea, and style to the appearance of the surface phenomena. Taste is also a progressively changing quality which under certain conditions constantly expands in range, depth, and precision of the interpretation of experience. It is a matter of exercising an increasingly intelligent selective interest at different levels of enlarging mental scope. Selection depends upon a point of view or interests. Obviously without a point of view there is no perception of meaningfulness. A point of view is a complex organization developed out of the individual's interaction with the social milieu, hence conditioned.

Karl Marx once asserted that it is the social existence which conditions consciousness, not consciousness which determines social existence. The first half is confirmed by modern social psychology, but present-day social philosophers would demur from the position in the latter half of Marx's aphoristic statement. Indeed, in other parts of his work, Marx himself disagreed with his own statement when, for example, he urged as a slogan: "Reform des Bewusstseins" as the first step toward social revolution. Such errors may be the price of cleverness in framing illogical, if startling, paradoxes. In the above instance, Marx missed the complementarity of man and society, the reciprocal relation, even though admittedly, for the average in the mass, society is the more im-

¹ See the interesting angle taken by Eric Newton, "The Creative Spirit in Art," *Vistas* (Summer, 1946).

posing influence. But, Marx understood that society must provide for an exit through which "der Sprung in der Freiheit" is possible.²

William Morris acknowledged that he felt early in his life a nascent humanized impulse, an imaginative sympathy with human suffering, hope, and tragedy. How well he illustrates the aforementioned unbounded, unlimited, unhemmed conception of taste. He grew through change. That is also the biological way. The successive output of his brain, every poem, pamphlet, book, speech, or editorial was a projection of the author, of his deep passion, his compassion, and his far-seeing point of view. Nor did his wide knowledge, particularly in history, art, and industry overwhelm him. He used his knowledge as tools of interpretation and inspiration, not as ballast or for narcissistic exhibition. Unlike Gladstone, his one-time political model, he used his conscience as a guide, not as an accomplice in dubiety and philistinism. Morris was a man of irreproachable integrity. His honest and straightforward manner inspired his readers and hearers with unflinching confidence and adhesiveness.

To recapitulate, the projection of more nearly ideal forms was not the assertion of a mere self: it included many other components, such as the social means of communication through which the common experience of a group becomes mutually intelligible, the insistent problems confronting the group, the historic situation as regards person, place, the stage of the arts, and the possibility of change.

It follows that the man's taste is more educated who has not only assimilated a wide range of the living, extant knowledge, but who has perceived the greatest configuration of interrelationships as regards both knowledge and action for the common good. It is this larger meaning of taste which the academies and the accredited guardians of the esthetic literary canons need for their own growth. Morris has cultivated the two seminal impulses for which the nineteenth century is perhaps the most outstanding of all centuries: the scientific and the socializing impulses. In the failure to ingest

the increasing and varied knowledge which science and sociology have produced, a great deal of modern poetry, literature, and art convey an atmosphere of unreality, escapism, if not decadence.³

Literature, Morris taught, is one aspect of the culture and the literary and art products of any historical period should be evaluated mainly in the light of the trends and tendencies of human activity and aspiration of that period. Does anyone have the hardihood to gainsay that the perplexities of Hamlet contain less pathos than the millions who today hunger for a mere existence? Our literature has been enriched by Morris because he would redeem the world from poverty, ignorance, ugliness, disease, exploitation, and hatred.⁴ He saw in the light of the malleability of human nature, in the light of science and technology, the possibility of achieving education, beauty, health, and fellowship—in brief, a life of plenty for all. Having a healthy, positive mind, a disciplined imagination, and an undiminished enthusiasm, he beamed clarity, good will, and love into the environment.

By contrast, Thomas Carlyle appears confused, inconsistent, frustrated. Nor did the dour Scot, unlike Bobbie Burns, add love to the environment. The veritiginous fusillade of hortatory, dogmatic, and vitriolic words that belched from Carlyle as if he were blowing a tidal wave forward remains to plague and misdirect the hapless sophomores in English Literature III. Misdirected surely, for, as Triggs⁵ says: "He (Carlyle) called for an industrial Cromwell or Frederick, of strong hand and iron will and strict conscience who should lay his might upon the chaos and rule it into order and harmony." (The Italians and Germans tried it—to their dismay!) Carlyle himself declined to hold the torch of progress when he distrusted the democratic movement.

Morris has given us a mature and adequate prose. George Bernard Shaw values Morris as "... a very great literary artist: his stories and essays and letters no less than his poems are tissues of words as fine as the carpet on the

² I am aware of Professor William F. Ogburn's evidence for the independent and simultaneous discoveries and inventions, but I do not now think that evidence invalidates the proposition that the final bond in a great synthesis is precipitated in an individual brain since there is no societal sensorium.

³ Cf. Max Eastman, *The Literary Mind*.

⁴ Cf. Ione Hansome, "Literature and Social Purpose," *SOCIAL STUDIES*, XXXVII, (October, 1946).

⁵ *Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement*.

ceiling." Shaw also reports that Morris' socialistic writing really taxed his full powers. And yet, the many delightful essays, such as "Art, Wealth, and Riches," "The Beauty of Life," "Art and the People," "True and False Society," and "Communism" do not betray any excessive exertion or overconsumption of midnight oil. His sentences flow as gently as Burns' "Sweet Afton among thy green braes," while his ideas develop as the buds on the trees open without giving an appearance of perceptible strain.

His essays are still inspiring because the content relates to our problems, and the form of statement is couched in general, universal, human terms. Like Ernst Toller, Morris always felt that the "need to be human" swayed him. (*Masse-Mensch*) It is noteworthy that while Morris was an Englishman, he was not a nationalist, nor an insular patriot. He became a humanist.⁶ He viewed as "Unholy every cause that needs to kill." Be it noted too, that Morris' first public appearances were directed against war with Russia. Like Toller again, he knew that "Art can only exist where the creative artist reveals that which is eternally human in the spiritual characteristics of the working people." (*Masse-Mensch*)

He lived up to the Goethean imperative:

Für das Grosse uns zu begeistern
Aber im Kleinem treu zu sein.

Doing small but necessary tasks did not try his patience. He felt as "a servant of a cause" in the furtherance of which he devoted his whole poetic genius.

Some critics of the literature of social purpose say that propagandists are devoid of esthetic sensibility and that technical and esthetic canons are ignored by them. That charge cannot be levelled at Morris. Indeed, this essay has been at some pains to show that Morris enlarged the scope for esthetic critique by adding another dimension to the concept of taste.

That the beauty of life is a thing of no moment, I suppose few people would venture to assert, and yet most civilized people act as if it were of none, and in so doing are wronging both themselves and those that are to come after them; for that beauty, which is meant by *art*, using the word in its widest

sense, is, I contend no mere accident to human life, which people can take or leave as they choose, but a positive necessity of life, if we are to live as nature meant us to; that is, unless we are content to be less than men.

What Morris dreamed in his youth became a glorious vision in his adulthood. He achieved utter sincerity and integrity by acting in the light of that vision. He gave wings to human aspiration and lead off to windward.⁷ He would that "Man should hearken to man and that he who soweth should reap." He put hopeful utterance on the lips of struggling men (See "The Day Is Coming"), and he shared skill and warmth with the hands of comradeship. He would release the energy of the people. Morris impelled to collective action in behalf of a just public policy. He sounded the call for all—out to work and vote for the better day. Cloistered, hierarchical cliques, and ivory tower tenants he considered as abhorrent evidence of selfish, private privilege—the cowardice of cupidity. He was impatient with the perversely acquired human propensity to build prisons for the spirit of man, to fence off new contact, to resist favorable change. Enough for him that death is the only absolutely unseverable hem of the orbit of individual human adventure. Meanwhile let imagination dare to leap! Let the living enjoy expansiveness. "Stretch forth open hands and while ye live Take all the gifts that Death and Life may give!"

In painting for us a Utopia (good society—Geddes) Morris stirred interest in the possibility of a new life on this earth. By joining art to work he would prevent meaningless routine and boredom. By his example of snaring the products of toil in his own factory, he induced a thrill in cooperative enterprise. In his lectures to work-people, he showed that there is no ethical defense for the inequality of opportunity. In his socialistic activity he showed common folks how they could become a cause of change. He pointed the way of humanity to itself!

Like Emerson ("The American Scholar"), Morris rejoiced that he was privileged to be born in an age of impending great change "when the new and the old stand side by side

⁶ See F. H. Amphlett Micklewright, *The Literary Guide*, (Oct., 1946).

⁷ To say (as does Walter F. Taylor in his *The Economic Novel*, p. 211) of William Morris, the revolutionary socialist, that he "sought to turn back the clock, to arrest the march of the machine" is incongruous.

and admit of being compared," but, he was not assailed by doubt as to what to do with it. He helped the transition by releasing its spirit, by giving it design, embodiment, and symbolic ex-

pression in a social direction. That too is art.
 Morris! Thou livest at this hour!
 The world hath need of thee,
 The love of beauty and of fellowship!

Lincoln, the Governors, and States' Rights

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The defeat of the Southern Confederacy stands as the symbol of the collapse of the ancient constitutional doctrine of states' rights. In the name of the dogma the South seceded; against the doctrine as it was embodied in the Confederacy, the United States fought. Appomattox marked the failure of the doctrine of states' rights in its challenge to the doctrine of national supremacy.

Early in the constitutional period, as progress of national aggrandizement threatened personal freedom, believers in democracy had formulated the constitutional theories of states' rights. Virginians had proclaimed that the states stood guard as sentinels over individual rights, ever ready to sound an alarm when the federal government encroached upon the liberties of men. Jefferson and Madison defined the theoretical relations between states and federal government under the constitution, and John Calhoun refined the dogma by adding the procedure by which an oppressed minority might protect itself from a tyrannical majority. True it is that the doctrine of states' rights lost much of its early liberal implications and became a constitutional refuge for reactionary opponents of social change. Once in power, Democrats ceased even to give lip-service to the dogma, while discredited and declining Federalism adopted it. Yet the theory of states' rights stood as a check upon the growing power of the national government until it fell a casualty in the Civil War.

But behind the symbol there was a reality which the symbolic representation fails to convey. The doctrine of states' rights was not confined to the South, nor was the rival doctrine

of national supremacy exclusively the possession of the Union side. Northerners as well as Southerners believed in states' rights, and Abraham Lincoln fought against its manifestation in the North as well as against its embodiment in the Confederacy.

Traditionally, states' rights was a doctrine of the Democratic Party and Democratic partisans used it to oppose Lincoln's nationalistic regime. But Republicans, too, believed in the rights of the states, and were jealous guardians of state powers. Into the new Republican party came men who had been Democrats or Federalists or Whigs, and they carried into their new affiliation many of the principles of their old party faiths.

The evolution of the Republican Party, too, contributed to placing an emphasis on the power and significance of the states. The national Republican Party of 1856 and 1860 was a coalition of state parties, bound together in a loose federation by a common enemy but lacking cohesiveness in program or any real organic unity. In 1860, considerations of state politics brought about Lincoln's nomination, and on the hustings state organizations carried the burden of the campaign. The Republican Party had no national program. Its platform—sometimes described as a national platform for a sectional party—was, in truth, an incoherent, inconsistent compilation of state programs. Its national candidates were men of less strength, in almost every state, than the candidates for governor.

After the election of 1860, when men began to assess the meaning of the Republican victory, there was a confusion of tongues. Only in the

lower South was there substantial unity of opinion. There men agreed that Lincoln's election spelled doom for their institutions, and quickly withdrew their states from the Union. In the North, no man had a right to speak for the victors—though many claimed it. Old abolitionists were sure that the Free Soil, Barn-burning, old Bentonian abolitionists would dominate the new administration. Republican editors Horace Greeley and Henry J. Raymond, self-appointed oracles, differed on interpretation and program. While Greeley was willing to "let the erring sisters" of the South "depart in peace," Raymond repeated, day after day, that Lincoln was a moderate man who would be "tolerant and considerate" of the South; he would recognize the sovereignty of the states; and the South would soon learn that it had nothing to fear from Lincoln and the Republicans. Thurlow Weed and Samuel Bowles spoke editorially in the same vein—hoping to convince the South not to leave the Union—and hoping, at the same time, to persuade Lincoln to follow a moderate and conciliatory policy. Republican congressmen, too, tried to formulate the program of their party, but the efforts only revealed that they were hopelessly divided between radicals and moderates.¹

Better qualified than editors, old Free-Soilers, or congressmen, to dictate the course of the new government were the governors of the states. The chief executives of the states were the nominal—and often the real—heads of their parties. More important, in view of the approaching war, they were the commanders in chief of the militia which constituted the military strength of the nation.²

Fully cognizant of the role which Southern governors were playing in organizing and directing the course of secession, Thurlow Weed made plans to use Northern governors to commit Lincoln and the Republicans to moderation and conciliation. Within the sphere of Weed's influence, three governors came out for a policy of compromise. Early in January, 1861, New York's Governor Edwin Morgan urged his legislature to repeal the state's personal liberty

law and to set an example of just and reasonable agreement. From New Jersey and Pennsylvania came answering echoes. Governor Charles Olden promised Jerseymen would "make all reasonable and proper concessions" to save the Union, while Pennsylvania's retiring Governor W. F. Packer, a Buchanan Democrat, strongly endorsed compromise. From the Border States enthusiastic support came from Virginia's John Letcher, Kentucky's Beriah Magoffin, and Maryland's Thomas H. Hicks.³

But moderates, Southerners, and lame-duck Democrats could be discounted. The new Republican governors were of a different mind. Massachusetts' radical John A. Andrew, breathing war with every breath, announced that "we must conquer the South" and joined with other radicals in proclaiming that the union must be preserved "though it cost a million lives." On the day of his inauguration he sped messengers to the other New England governors to urge martial preparations.⁴ At the same time, Michigan's incoming Austin Blair delivered an inaugural address which he hoped would be heard in Springfield. "Oh for the firm steady hand of a Washington, or a Jackson, to guide the ship of state in this perilous storm. Let us hope that we shall find him on the Fourth of March."⁵

Ohio's William Dennison, Minnesota's Alexander Ramsey, and Indiana's Oliver P. Morton denounced secession and compromises in inaugural addresses and in legislative messages. "The hopes of civilization and Christianity," cried Wisconsin's Alexander Randall with such vigor that he disarranged his red wig, "are suspended now upon this question of dissolution." To save Christianity and civilization, he proposed an immediate increase in the militia. By

³ D. S. Alexander, *Political History of the State of New York* (2 vols., New York, 1906), II, 248 ff.; T. W. Barnes, ed., *Life of Thurlow Weed* (2 vols., Boston, 1884), II, 277; *New York Times*, January 4, 1860.

⁴ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Series 3, I:36-37. Hereafter cited as O.R. W. Shouler, *Massachusetts in the Civil War* (Boston, 1868), pp. 18-22; P. C. Headley, *Massachusetts in the Rebellion* (Boston, 1866), p. 96; Henry G. Pearson, *The Life of John Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts 1861-1865* (2 vols., Boston, 1904), I, 147-159.

⁵ J. Robertson, *Michigan in the War* (Lansing, 1880), pp. 10-13; C. Moore, *History of Michigan* (4 vols., Chicago, 1915), I, 412-413; C. N. Fuller, *Governors of Michigan* (Lansing, 1928), pp. 94; *Detroit Free Press*, January 4, 1861.

¹ Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumbull* (Boston, 1913), pp. 139-140; T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and the Radicals* (Madison, 1941), pp. 4-8.

² A definitive study of the Northern armies is Fred A. Shannon, *Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865* (2 vols., Cleveland, 1928).

the middle of January, all the Northern governors had spoken. Three of them, Andrew Curtin of Pennsylvania, Morgan of New York and New Jersey's Olden had advised moderation; the others were radicals of varying degree. In martial mood they prepared their states for war, sent intemperate men to the Washington Peace Conference, and warned Lincoln against conciliation.⁶

While the governors spoke, Lincoln remained quiet. His voice, if he had raised it before his inauguration, would have been but one more in the general clamor. Yet, while he listened, he began the work of welding the separate parts of the Republican party into a national whole. Skillfully he distributed promises of preferment among his party's factions. Carefully, he noted the growing demand for coercive measures, and with shrewdness he prevented congressmen from making commitments until he could take the helm himself. Even after his inauguration, he waited until the states were prepared and until such moderates as editor Raymond and Secretary William Seward were crying for a policy. Then, making sure at the last moment that Pennsylvania's Andrew Curtin would cooperate, he adopted the program demanded by the radical governors and sent supplies to Sumter. But, even as he yielded to the gubernatorial demands, Lincoln assumed command. With the call for troops after Sumter, Lincoln gave his party its first national program and established himself as the director of its destinies.⁷

Thereafter, for the four years of the war, Lincoln proceeded with the three-fold task of winning the war, building a national party, and destroying the rights of the states. In performing the task, Lincoln had three advantages. In the first place, he alone was in a position to arbitrate—and manipulate—the jealousies and rivalries between the states. In the beginning,

state pride led the governors to vie with one another in raising men, money, and supplies for the national armies. Long before the war was over, the governors found themselves harassed by the continuing demands of the Federal government for more troops and embarrassed by the mounting reluctance of their constituents to volunteer for combat. In either case, Lincoln could adjust quotas to relieve the governors, or could offer the example of a rival state to challenge a governor's emulation. Then, too, Lincoln stood in the strategic place to smooth out differences between the governors in policies. Moderate and radical factions within the Republican party each had its gubernatorial representatives, and Lincoln yielded at times to each; but, for the most part, he "played off" one against the other. Finally, and most important of all, Lincoln controlled the federal patronage, swollen by military commissions, new civic agencies, and war contracts. The governors' patronage was lean in comparison, and the state executives begged for patronage crumbs from the national table.

Aided by the patronage, manipulating state rivalries, and steering a cautious course between the factions of his party, Lincoln built a nation by wrecking states' rights and state powers. In four areas—the direction of the armies, the raising of troops, the development of the Republican Party, and the formulation of national policy—Lincoln asserted the power of the national government, and himself at its head, against the pretension of the state governors.

At the beginning of the war, the War Department was a bedlam of confusion and inefficiency. In contrast, some of the state governors were models of executive ability. Massachusetts' Andrew, for example, within one week after Sumter, dispatched three hundred militia to the defense of Washington, advised the Secretary of War that the capacity of the Springfield Armory be doubled, recommended that the tools of the Harper's Ferry arsenal be removed to Massachusetts, and reported the results of experiments he had been conducting with a new projectile. In addition, he placed guards around the state arsenal in Cambridge to protect it against Harvard's Southern students, stationed a school ship in Boston harbor to challenge Jeff Davis' navy, ordered the Charleston Navy Yard

⁶ Lucius E. Chittenden, *Personal Reminiscences 1840-1890* (New York, 1893), p. 20; *Detroit Post and Tribune: Zachariah Chandler An Outline Sketch of His Life and Public Services* (Detroit, 1880), pp. 189-191; H. G. Pearson, *Andrew, I*, 156-158, 164; Walter G. Shotwell, *Life of Charles Sumner* (New York, 1910), p. 405; Sarah Forbes Hughes, ed., *Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes* (2 vols., Boston, 1899), 1:190-193, 200; George S. Boutwell, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs* (2 vols., New York, 1902), 270, 272, 279.

⁷ W. H. Egle (Ed.), *Andrew Gregg Curtin* (Philadelphia, 1895), pp. 41-42, 123, 212; Paul M. Angle (Ed.), *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln* (Boston, 1930), p. 267; *New York Times* April 10, 1861.

to arrest any naval officers who refused to take an oath of allegiance, and wrote the governor-general of Canada about a suspicious-looking vessel on Lake Ontario. John Albion Andrew was carrying the whole war on his shoulders, and, when Washington was momentarily cut off from the North, he had no hesitancy in assuming the unofficial role of "Secretary of War for New England." He ordered other governors about, assigned troops, loaned equipment, chartered ships for transport, collected rations from the Massachusetts towns, and sent an agent to Washington with instructions for the government.⁸

At the same time, in the west, the governors, with varying degrees of efficiency, took over the direction of war. Indiana's Morton and Ohio's Dennison staved off a peace move from Kentucky's Magoffin. Dennison forbade railroads carrying contraband to Kentucky, and prepared an expedition to invade Virginia's loyal western counties.⁹ In Illinois, Governor Richard Yates sent troops to guard Cairo, and cooperated with the Blairs in rescuing arms from St. Louis.¹⁰ Disgusted with the administration's timidity and lack of coordination, governors or their agents from New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin assembled in Cleveland to demand efficiency, urge the invasion of the South,

and the protection of the Mississippi River. Formally, the assembled governors threatened that, unless the government took control, there would "be war between the border states which will lose sight, for the time, of the government."¹¹

Lincoln heeded the warning implicit in the situation, and again assumed command. His call for forty regiments of volunteers was the first step in a long process ending in the President's directing the military aspects of the war. John Andrew continued to instruct the government on military movements, and succeeded in getting an expedition launched against the Carolina coast and in having General Nathaniel Banks assigned to Louisiana, but gradually even he lost his power. The climax of the governors' influence came in September, 1862, when the Altoona Conference of Governors determined to go to Washington in a body to demand McClellan's removal. Lincoln met them with disarming courtesy, parried their thrusts with skill until Iowa's Kirkwood overstepped the bounds by suggesting that McClellan was a traitor. The commander-in-chief squelched him, thanked the governors for their support, and dismissed them as if they were schoolboys. Thereafter, though the President still had his troubles with the Radical faction in congress, the national government, and not the state governors, would direct the armies.¹²

But the direction of armies involved raising troops as well as planning campaigns. In the beginning the governors raised regiments with enthusiastic abandon. They raised more than the slower-moving federal government could use, and they demanded that the government accept all the forces they could raise. But the first enthusiasm declined rapidly, and soon the governors found it difficult to raise troops. The Washington government, needing men, accepted offers from private individuals and authorized them to raise independent regiments. Quickly the jealous governors protested, and the government abandoned the practice. But hardly had

⁸ Henry G. Pearson, *Andrew*, 1:135-6, 142-3, 152-3, 159-60, 183, 195, 210.

⁹ Ohio Executive Records, Box 198; William D. Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton* (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1899), 1:135, 137-138; *O.R.*, Series 3, 1:41, 102-4, 125-6; W. H. H. Terrell, *Indiana in the War of the Rebellion* (Indianapolis, 1869), pp. 7-8, 212, 215 ff.; John J. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History* (10 vols., New York, 1902), IV:231; William M. French, *Life, Speeches, State Papers and Public Services of Governor Oliver P. Morton* (Cincinnati, 1864), pp. 183-188; E. Merton Coulter, *The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky* (Chapel Hill, 1926), p. 63; William B. Weeden, *War Government, Federal and State, in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Indiana 1861-1865* (Boston, 1906), p. 163; Letters of G. C. Davies, April 22; Rufus King, April 29; M. B. Wright, April 29; to Dennison and Dennison to Mayor George Hatch, April 29, 1861; Correspondence of Magoffin and Dennison, April 25, 26, 1861; Thomas L. Crittenden to Dennison and Dennison to Crittenden, May 1, 1861. Ohio Executive Records, Box 198. *Detroit Free Press*, May 3, 1861.

¹⁰ *O.R.*, Series 3, 1: 80-81, 93, 113, 116-117; John J. Nicolay and John Hay, *Lincoln*, 4:193-5; *Chicago Times*, April 20, 1861; Thomas M. Eddy, *The Patriotism of Illinois* (2 vols., Chicago, 1865), 1:97-102; Letters of C. H. Ray, April 16; T. S. Rodery, April 19; and others, May 2-9, 1861, to Yates, in Yates Mss.; John A. McClelland Mss., in Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.

¹¹ See William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf, "The Cleveland Conference of 1861," in *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 56 (July, 1947), 258-265.

¹² See William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf, "The Altoona Conference and the Emancipation Proclamation," in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 71 (July, 1947), 195-205.

states' rights won this victory, when the administration began to permit generals to recruit their own commands. The efforts of John Andrew to prevent Ben Butler's raising troops in Massachusetts involved both these irascible and erratic men in venomous personal bickering, but ended in nominal victory for the governor and for states' rights.¹³

Yet, as the war went on, the governors were unable to maintain their control over recruiting. Dark threats of a draft drove them into demanding that the government use Negro troops, and John Andrew even threatened to stop sending men unless black men "with God and human nature on their side" were permitted to manifest their patriotism. Lincoln, however, was adamant, and, by threatening to call on mayors for troops, succeeded in getting the governors to unite in urging him to call for 300,000 men. When the governors failed to raise the men, Lincoln ordered a militia draft. Early the next year, Congress passed the conscription act.¹⁴

With these developments, the governors changed their attitude. In the early days, they had complained that their quotas were not high enough; now they thought their assessments too large. The government set up its own recruiting system, reducing the governors to mere routine functionaries. The governors descended to the ineffectual role of defenders of their constituents against the government's demands for troops. New York's Horatio Seymour attempted to stop conscription, while other governors, giving the system their nominal support, interposed as many obstacles as possible. Conscription, more than any other single act of Lincoln's government, dealt a death blow to states' rights.

At the same time that they lost military power, the governors lost the right to determine public policy. They were substantially united,

at the beginning, on the coercion of the South, but when Lincoln implemented their program he took control from their hands. As the first martial enthusiasm died away, and men began to question the war aims of the government, the governors had no answer. Lincoln alone could formulate a program, and for a time his "preservation of the Union" formula was the only slogan upon which all factions could unite.

But radical governors were not content with so limited an objective. John Andrew and others demanded that the extinction of slavery be declared the first purpose of the government. Steadily they worked to commit Lincoln to abolition, and finally, they assembled a conference of Governors at Altoona, Pennsylvania. Radicals like Andrew went to the conference determined to force emancipation upon the government. At the moment, with the governors hoping that Negro troops would enable them to avoid a draft, and with moderates among them without a program, the radical governors might well have hoped for success. But, even while the governors were enroute to Altoona, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. The document fell far short of the extremists' demands, but it strengthened the moderates, and forced the assembled governors to endorse Lincoln's acts. Radicals and moderates alike followed Lincoln's leadership, and states' rights suffered another blow.

As the governors lost the right to formulate policy and the power to control the armies, they lost their controlling position in the Republican Party. Lincoln distributed the federal patronage, civil and military, without regard to the state governors. He built a national party outside the state organizations, weakening the state parties as he drew men into the "Union Party" system. Moreover, the President used the army to make governors in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware. By suspending the writ of habeas corpus and arbitrarily arresting Democrats on election eve, Lincoln made possible continued Republican success at the polls. In 1862, Republicans suffered serious setbacks on election day. In 1863, Lincoln's aid saved the party ticket in Ohio. By 1864 the governors were satellites revolving in Lincoln's orbit, and the political manifestations of states' rights were only memories.¹⁵

¹³ O.R., Series 3, 1:67-68; 2:44-49, 61-64, 68-73, 75-78, 80-82, 86, 97, 100-102, 106, 933, 935-937, 940-942.

¹⁴ Frederick W. Seward, *Seward at Washington as Senator and Secretary of State* (New York, 1891), pp. 101, 103-4, 108-9; Adam Gurowski, *Diary from March 4, 1861, to November 12, 1862* (3 vols., Boston, 1862 and 1864), I:230; O.R., Series 3, II:180; A. K. McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War Times* (Philadelphia, 1892), 270; Weeden, *War Government*, 211-212; James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897* (10 vols., Washington, 1897), VI:115. The Conscription Bill of 1863 drafted for military service all men between twenty and forty-five years of age.

Thus there passed from the American scene the ancient and honorable dogma of states' rights, and, as the smoke cleared from the battlefields, men's eyes beheld a new nation in which new organizations and new concepts replaced older forms and older ideas. Abraham Lincoln, combating the Northern governors amid the exigencies of the Civil War, effectively demolished the doctrine that the states could

resist the acts of the Federal government.¹⁶ After Lincoln, states' rights could no longer stand as either a bulwark of reaction or as a citadel of liberty.

¹⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 47 Congress, 3 session, 1454; Appendix, 209.

¹⁶ *Tribune Almanac and Political Register 1863*, pp. 50, 52-57, 59-62; James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (2 vols., Norwich, 1884), I:442-444; *New York Tribune*, October 16, 20; *Philadelphia Press*, October 2, 1862.

A Critical Battle of Modern Times

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No amount of historical research will ever relieve Hitler of the heavy burden of responsibility which he bears for the developments that led to World War II. Time and study, however, are making it increasingly clear that even democratic America must bear some share of the blame for the breakdown of world order in the second quarter of this century. We have only to look back upon the political picture within our nation in 1919 to find in the Senate's rejection of a probable instrument for world peace one of the basic reasons for Germany's aggressive actions in the 1930's, actions which ultimately meant global war.

Essentially the struggle in our own nation following the peace of Versailles was a bitter contest between the forces of nationalism and the weaker forces of internationalism. Then as now we had won the war but not the peace. We were a nation torn between the Senate's nationalistic whims and President Wilson's international ideals. The issue at stake was the future defense of our own shores and the peace of the whole world. No amount of discussion could persuade the Senate that the stand they took was not the best for the American nation. No amount of persuasion on the part of the President could make them realize their moral duty of accepting the League of Nations for themselves and the world. Both President Wilson and the Senate waged an aggressive campaign for their respective platforms, with the

tragic result that the Senate kept America from supporting the one existing organization that might in time have saved the world from the destruction which we have just seen.

The League had been formulated and accepted at Paris but was only a vague reality to the American public when it was laid before the Senate in May, 1919. As for the Senators, they had already formed their opinions on it. They were intent on the League's destruction and were confident of victory because of the Republican majority in both Houses. Major opposition was led by Senator Lodge, the Republican majority leader. The biggest point of opposition that the Senate produced, after innumerable amendments to the treaty itself, was over Article 10 on aggression. The Article 10 on aggression, was written into the Covenant thus:

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.¹

But to President Wilson, this Article 10 was the "heart of the covenant," and he doggedly refused to have it altered in any manner, much to the dismay of many Senators.² At the time

¹ "Publication of the First Draft," *The New Larned History*, 10 (1924), 5170-5172.

² Ross J. S. Hoffman, *Durable Peace* (Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 12-13.

of the Senate's session in May, there were three large factions that were leading opposition to the League. The first was the "Partisan Republicans," a group humiliated by six years of Democratic rule and particularly unwilling to lend any support to the proposals of a Democratic President. A considerable representation of "Liberals" constituted the second opposing faction. They felt that President Wilson, in accepting the League, was sacrificing his fourteen-point program to the victors because the European powers whenever involved in war would, in the future, turn to us and demand aid and money for their conflicts. Members of the third faction, the "Hyphenates," were men of various nationalities with grievances against particular aspects of the League.³ These partisan gentlemen made up the personnel of the Senate. What about their outlook? their actions with reference to the proposed League? their treatment in particular of Article 10?

If only the panelled walls of the Senate Chamber had voice, what tales they might tell of the heated debates over the treaty and Covenant! Senator Lodge, leader of the Republicans and the League's most ardent opponent, began the attack with a stall for time. Time was a necessary factor in the Republican's program of swaying the whole nation to the Senate's stand on the Covenant of the League. Time could be used to inform the American public of the Senate's attitude towards the treaty and Covenant. First of all, Senator Lodge himself read the treaty aloud, consuming two whole weeks. Next, he saw to it that the treaty was sent to various committees of Republican majority for discussion and revision.⁴ Everyone knows the story of how the treaty emerged from the Senate committee so loaded down with resolutions and amendments that the original was hardly recognizable.

Most abused of all the articles in the Covenant was Article 10. Lodge knew, as did everyone else, that lacking Article 10, the League would have no meaning at all to Wilson. A revision or a rejection of this one article would, so far as the President was concerned, rob the

whole Covenant of any real value. Personal accounts of Senator Lodge afford us vivid pictures of the vigorous discussions carried on by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and by individual senators outside this group.

Lodge and his followers based their stand against the treaty for the League on the grounds that Article 10 would require our country to sacrifice, not totally but in part, the principle of national sovereignty. Specifically they believed, or chose to believe, that it imposed on our nation obligations which no independent and sovereign nation should be forced to accept.

A special committee report about Article 10 came back from a hearing with this theme running through it: there must be no moral or legal obligation upon the United States to enter into war or send her military and naval forces abroad without action first from Congress. This would happen, or so they said, if the Covenant contained Article 10 as it stood. To continue, if the League was to "advise," that meant that the United States would be under obligation to act on the wishes of the League at any time the League saw fit to use her.⁵ This Senate proclaimed itself far too "American" to send her boys overseas to be killed because some petty kings were having a dispute.

After still further discussion and debate, Senator Lodge saw that it was necessary to find some solution. He and Senator McCumber drew up a counter proposal to Article 10 that was to be recorded in the Congressional records as the "Lodge Reservation." This, in its essence, was the summation of all the arguments against Article 10. The reservation read:

The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other nations—whether members of the league or not—under the provisions of Article 10, or to employ the military or naval forces of United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United

³ Thomas A. Bailey, *Diplomatic History of American People* (F. S. Crofts and Company, 1946), pp. 667-668.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 669-671.

⁵ Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Senate and The League of Nations* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), pp. 184-185.

States shall by act or joint resolution so provide.⁶

Somehow, this reservation reached President Wilson who was at Salt Lake City on his cross-country tour. So strong was his reaction that Senator Lodge was obliged to blame it on Wilson's wounded pride. For, as everyone knew, Wilson was sole author of Article 10.

Outside the Senate Chamber, Republican Senators were no less active. This time they were attacking the President by word of mouth. They put particular emphasis on the fact that he was making the League a partisan issue. It was known that Wilson had drawn up his draft of the treaty and Covenant practically by himself.⁷ Any aid he had enlisted had been carefully drawn from Democratic members of Congress. This angered the Republican Senate. They were out literally to cripple Wilson and his international ideals. Wilson was further condemned for keeping the League from the public.⁸ The nation understood only that they had been maneuvered into a non-American war and peace. They had no means of judging President Wilson's Covenant fairly, because he failed to tell them anything about it.⁹ Senator Lodge gives accounts of semi-private meetings the President had with members of Congress to try to explain the Covenant, but as yet he had said nothing to the nation as a body. The majority of those Congressmen that attended the meetings felt that they were grossly uninformed.¹⁰ Of course many of the Senators' opinions might have been highly influenced by their own partisan interests, but the fact remains, Wilson had not succeeded in informing them.

By September the Senate had practically smothered any hope the President might have for the survival of the League. Mr. Wilson now realized that the League's salvation would have to come from the people. But what of the people? What condition were they in to receive the President's views? To begin with, the people were also an uninformed group. Whatever thoughts or convictions they possessed had been

shaped through the influence of the Senate's propaganda and the unfair interpretations of the League as given by the daily newspapers.

The President was to face people who saw no vital connection between their own national interests and his program for international peace. They saw only that they were going to be asked to support Europe and get nothing in return. This view was not entirely their fault. President Wilson lacked that quality which enables a leader to establish contact about his subject with the masses. He seemingly forgot that the people from whom he expected support were uninformed or, like the Senators', void of any scholarly understanding on European history or Christian views.¹¹ This was the wall of prejudice the President was going to have to tear down if the League was to be saved. So we find the President first trying unsuccessfully to explain to the Congress the Covenant in its true light and then turning in desperation to the people personally.

President Wilson truly was an internationalist in the sense that he hoped that some day men would work in union towards their own ends. The League was to be a means to reach that end, not a dictatorial power telling members what to do or what not to do.

In his defense of the League, President Wilson claimed that the League, including Article 10, was the salvation of the world. Our acceptance of the League, he felt, would help to insure world peace. The League in reality was a means to organize the moral forces of the world to effect just settlement for mankind, to make right and justice predominate.¹² The League meant a type of service. Whatever aid one country gave to the world was to be returned in full value later. There should have been no misunderstanding about this giving and receiving; but there was, and it took the form of protests over Article 10.

In an address before the Foreign Relations Committee in August, 1919, President Wilson attempted to explain Article 10 and its importance to the world. His main plea was that the

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 183-185.

⁷ "Making the League a Personal Issue," *Outlook*, 122 (June 18, 1919), 278-279.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Walter Lippmann, *United States Foreign Policy* (Little Brown and Company, 1943), pp. 37-38.

¹⁰ Thomas A. Bailey, *Diplomatic History of American People*, pp. 669-670.

¹¹ J. Wallace, "Senate and League of Nations," *Outlook*, 124 (April 21, 1920), 723-724.

¹² Woodrow Wilson, *International Ideals* (Harper and Brother, 1919), pp. 24-25.

Senators view the Article in light of the whole Covenant. If they did this they would readily see that when the Article states that it will "advise," it did not mean that what it advised was a binding obligation on the country in question.¹³ Also, unless the United States was a party to policy or action in question her affirmative vote was necessary even before advice could be given; in any case, it would be only advice. Individual countries would be free to reject any advice that might be given.

Further, that section of the Article that states, "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League," would be a moral obligation; therefore, it would allow Congress to put her own interpretation on all cases that might involve action or tapping of our revenue.¹⁴ The League, inclusive of Article 10, would merely try to preserve the territorial and political integrity of the world against any aggressors. But the Senate would have nothing of it, and on September 3, 1919, President Wilson turned to the country as his last hope for the League's salvation.¹⁵

Previous to his tour, President Wilson had experienced several serious spells of illness which grew more frequent and more serious as affairs of State increased. All this trouble was a serious strain on his physical condition. So dangerous was his condition at the proposed time of his tour that advice was strongly given against his departure. Wilson would hear none of these protests, for he had told the people "that the war was a war to end all wars" and he must insure it as far as it was possible.¹⁶ So, he left to tour the country.

President Wilson was a man of high morals. On one of his first contacts with the people he made it clear that their acceptance of the League was an obligation they owed to themselves and to the world. After all, we could not continue to hide behind the cloak of "100 per cent Americanism." We were a nation of world citizens living in a world society. As members of this society we had obligations to perform. The

most important of these obligations at that time was to help our fellow men. How could we have refused such a complete means to save the world from the further destruction of greedy men and people?

In an address at Kansas City on his western tour, President Wilson cited the case of Armenia as an example of Christian moral obligation. In Armenia he said, the Christian people were at the mercy of a Turkish ruler who thought it a service to God to destroy the Christians. It was our duty to aid those helpless people, to save them from the ruthlessness of such rulers.¹⁷ This help would have come from the League, through Article 10. As Christians, Americans could not refuse to send help to such distressed peoples.

As Wilson continued on through the West, gaining increasing support for his cause, back in Washington some of the Senators (Republican) began to fear the support Wilson seemed to be gaining. The Senators planned, therefore, to "trail" the President, speaking in the same cities a day or two later. These men, Senator Borah and Senator Johnson, were often able to uproot what Wilson had planted.¹⁸ The high point of Wilson's tour came in Pueblo, Colorado on September 25, 1919.¹⁹ Here he received one of his largest ovations, just as his physical strength gave way. It was a broken man of sixty-three who was sent back to the White House leaving behind him a job unfinished.²⁰

It was an unfortunate trick of fate that his health failed him then. The people were just beginning to add momentum to the strength of the League. Wilson had succeeded in his aim to inform the people and make them accept the League; but he had taken action too late. By the time enough influence could be mustered, the Senate had voted down the Covenant.

As the final votes were cast for the survival or defeat of the League, the end of the bitter battle of nationalism versus internationalism came to an end. The winner was nationalism but the glories reaped were only temporary. The future was to cast the ominous shadow of war over all, a war America might have prevented

¹³ L. D. Abbott, *Masterworks of Government* (Doubleday and Company, 1947), pp. 729-731.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Edith Bolling Wilson, *My Memoir*, pp. 273-274.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275.

¹⁷ L. D. Abbott, *Masterworks of Government*, p. 742.

¹⁸ Thomas A. Bailey, *Diplomatic History of American People*, pp. 674-676.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 673-674.

²⁰ Edith Bolling Wilson, *My Memoir*, pp. 283-285.

had she accepted the League. Today as we look back on that picture of 1919, as is so often the case, we cannot lay the blame for the League's failure directly on the Senate or on President Wilson. The Senate because of the prevailing nationalistic spirit was short-sighted. They looked no farther than their own doorsteps for the extent of their responsibilities. Wilson on

his part met failure and defeat both because America had not yet grown up to the idea of internationalism and because as a leader, a crusader, his approach was too ideal. America needed to know that her part in the League was not alone to make the world safe for democracy; but to protect her very own shores from another war in which she could not but be involved.

The Man Who Named Antarctica and His Expedition

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Friendly penguins, one of Antarctica's few exports, greeted Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., in 1840 as he gazed on the icy continent he named. The birds' warm reception was about the only pleasant feature then experienced by the exploring expedition which Wilkes commanded.

For the birds it was the beginning of an act which has since become routine to them. Their latest visitors, eleventh of an international series, staked claims for Chile and Argentina. Recent proposals have been made to internationalize the area.

For Wilkes it represented triumph over nature's inhospitable forces, and over his government's inadequate provisions. It was also a source of his later bitter persecution. More important, it offered this country rights through discovery to the strategic area now claimed by seven nations.

This significant event was an unexpected by-product of an expedition urged by the whaling industry, then in its heyday in the nineteenth century. Wealthy Yankee shipowners, finding their progress threatened by hazy maps, dangerous reefs, and the assaults of cannibalistic Pacific Islanders, petitioned Congress for aid. President Van Buren gave his blessing to the project and in 1836 Congress voted funds.

The numerous delays and clashes of opinion among the planners of the project had dampened the enthusiasm of older naval officers. The

youthful New-York-born Wilkes, founder of the Navy's Hydrographic Department, was finally placed in command.

Wilkes had entered the Navy in 1818 and after duty shifts in the Mediterranean and Pacific had participated in surveys off Cape Cod which resulted in the publication of the first maps issued by the federal government. His interest in science and exploration had been marked from boyhood. When Congress ruled that to establish a national observatory was unconstitutional, Wilkes set up a small one in his home.

Following his appointment to head the expedition, Wilkes, with characteristic thoroughness, made a quick trip to Europe to secure instruments. Eventually all was ready and his squadron of six ships, none too well adapted for either polar or tropical seas and ranging in size from 760 to 90 tons, sailed from Norfolk in 1838.

Wilkes was given a detailed itinerary, charged with correcting the maps of that day, studying the native life of remote peoples with an eye to enlarging American commerce, pursuing scientific studies and safeguarding the future of whaling crews.

Noted scientists, including James D. Dana and Charles Pickering, together with artists and anthropologists, accompanied the expedition. Their compilation of notes and sketches give an interesting picture of the life and history of a major portion of the world more than a century ago.

The eastern and western coasts of South America were duly visited and studied. As in the United States, though the slave trade was forbidden, slavery itself flourished. In Brazil a slave's African origins could be determined by his tattoo marks, cicatrices and teeth filings, and his sale price was enhanced by the complexity of his markings. Many slaves worked in gangs as carriers, moving in dog-trot fashion to the rhythm the leader produced from his stone-filled tin rattle. Some owners required their slaves to earn a stated sum daily, and the slaves retained any surplus above this amount; those failing to meet their quotas were flogged.

The squadron remained for a time at Orange Harbour, a lonely outpost of Tierra del Fuego, which Wilkes described as an ideal place for whalers to recuperate from scurvy. The few natives proved to be friendly, though shy. They greeted their visitors by forcing them to jump up and down with them. Their slender bodies were ineffectually shielded from the chill winds by a small piece of sealskin draped over one shoulder, and this was shifted to the opposite shoulder as the wind changed. Children were naked, though the temperature was only 40 degrees. Their smiling faces, streaked with smut and dirt, were framed by greasy hair.

The children proved to be excellent mimics, perfectly reproducing all sounds made in their presence. A frail bark canoe accommodated an entire family. A precious fire was carried in the boat; the father bailed water and tenderly nursed the fire, while the mother and older children propelled the craft by tugging clumps of kelp, or by occasionally using paddles of small branches.

One male native spent a week aboard the fleet. Tiring of civilized life, and several shades lighter, thanks to numerous applications of soap and water, he begged to be returned to his family. The natives, Wilkes noted, were a happy contented people.

The flagship *Vincennes* remained at Orange Harbour to conduct surveys and scientific studies as the rest of the fleet made its first trip into Antarctic waters, an area naval leaders considered of minor importance.

Luck did not favor the squadron. High winds, numerous icebergs and an almost constant atmosphere of fog rendered the passage extremely dangerous. The sides of the larger ships had

been pierced for guns and this gave the boats little protection from the weather and ice. The discomfort of the 345 men crowded into the boats was aggravated by their thin clothing, a supply item below specifications. These conditions were made more difficult by the shortness of the season and the appearance of incipient scurvy. Storms and ice stopped Wilkes at 66°S., but one ship, the *Flying Fish*, penetrated the 70th degree of south latitude. For some time this was the nearest approach to the mark set by Britain's famous Captain Cook. On the return the small *Sea Gull* was lost, all men aboard her perishing. Soon the squadron was reduced to four when the slow supply ship *Relief* was sent home.

On prolonged voyages the cramped quarters and monotonous diet usually produced smoldering dissatisfaction on ships. And, on an expedition such as Wilkes commanded, jealousies and ambitions added their influence. Open dissension had first appeared at Orange Harbour when the men received their orders. Those assigned to scientific duties at Orange Harbour bitterly envied those selected to sail into the Antarctic. Wilkes was no coddler; sharp orders temporarily silenced conflicting views.

In 1839 Wilkes began his important surveys of much of the Pacific. More than 200 islands were surveyed, map locations were listed with greater accuracy and the first really reliable information of Pacific currents was gathered. From the summit of famed Mauna Loa Wilkes directed an exhaustive gravity study. Scientists studied the heavens and measured the peaks and, always, flora and fauna specimens were acquired. Native life, trade and history were recorded. Natives of less densely populated islands were given instructions in the raising of sheep, hogs and vegetables. This was done to improve the native standard of living and also to provide stations where visiting whalers could replenish their food stores.

It was a gigantic task, made more difficult, in part, by the problems created, or fostered, by earlier white visitors. While some islands had not been visited since their discovery by Europeans more than a century before Wilkes, the entry of white men into much of the Pacific was not an unmixed blessing. The missionary brought the gospel and the "Mother Hubbard," and occasionally introduced new enterprises.

but the castaways, escaped convicts and unscrupulous traders brought whiskey, firearms and disease. Before long the "blackbirders" would appear, undesirables who flouted local customs and exploited the natives. The impingement of white culture on that of the Pacific islander came at a time when the natives were still engaging in warfare among themselves and cannibalism was rampant in much of the western Pacific. The brotherhood of man was still far away in the future and many accorded human life the same value as a whale's tooth.

Wilkes was a peace-loving man and never sought trouble with the natives. He was at constant pains to foster friendly relationships. But he had been ordered to uphold both the honor of the flag and the rights of seamen. On several memorable occasions he was forced to introduce new concepts of justice to the islanders.

The first incident took place on the island of Upolu, in the Samoan group. Wilkes was informed that a native, Tuvai, had killed an American seaman. Lieutenant William Hudson, second in command, placed Tuvai under arrest. A trial was conducted with great dignity in the "fono" or assembly hall, with a local missionary acting as interpreter. Tuvai readily confessed, stating that he had coveted the seaman's knife and clothing. Pea, a chief and a relative of Tuvai, conducted the defense. Pea vainly argued that the natives did not know that white men regarded murder as evil and that local custom would permit the matter to be settled by making payment to the family of the deceased and knocking the head three times on the ground.

The Americans held out for the death penalty, privately intending to grant a last-minute reprieve and give suitable reasons at that time for sparing Tuvai's life. The natives insisted that if an execution take place, it must be on the *Peacock*, but it was finally agreed that Tuvai should be deported to a lonely island under the protection of its chief. It was felt that his sudden removal to an unknown destination would prevent other natives from attacking white men. Tuvai, with his few effects wrapped in a tapa cloth roll, was dejectedly led aboard ship and later landed on Wallis Island, several hundred miles away. It was believed that the nature and direction of the prevailing current

would prevent him from ever returning to Upolu in a native craft.

At the conclusion of the trial the Samoan chiefs aired their grievances. Whalers had not paid port charges or for provisions and had committed other crimes. Wilkes offered to reimburse the chiefs at the figure they named; this was refused. A treaty was signed which provided equitable treatment for the natives and future whalers. It was specifically agreed that native killers of seamen were to be turned over to the commander of the ship to which the seamen belonged, or to the commander of a ship from the country of which the seamen were natives. Similar terms were reached with other islands visited by the expedition.

Another incident took place in the Feejee (Fiji) Islands, as the name was then spelled, and figured prominently later in Wilkes' court-martial. During the time the little island of Malolo was being surveyed, the natives had been restless, had committed several thefts and killed members of an American fishing vessel. Suddenly a party of natives attacked two boatloads of the expedition's crew, who, contrary to orders, were not fully armed. Two Americans were killed. It was decided that punishment was in order. Landings were made on the island and two villages were set afire. The natives fought fiercely, the women using bows and arrows and the men guns. Fifty-six natives were killed. As the smoke cleared away, a woman appeared carrying a white cock and begging for mercy.

It was the boast of these people that, in the event of defeat, terms must be made and agreed upon in the presence of all survivors. Wilkes therefore directed the woman to bring all survivors the following day to a designated spot. Here they acknowledged their errors and defeat, and as penance gathered water for the squadron. In their code the conquered worked for the victors. Malolo, from that day, became one of the most peaceful of the Pacific Islands.

It was in the Fiji Islands that the expedition acquired an unwilling guest. Prior to the squadron's visit to Rewa a boat crew of an American brig had been murdered and their bodies partially eaten by natives. The instigator of the crime, a chieftain named Vendovi, had lured the mate ashore on the pretext of wanting him to treat a sick man. The group was ambushed

and Vendovi admitted holding the mate as his confederates brained him.

To effect Vendovi's capture, Wilkes invited the king, the queen and all chiefs aboard. Vendovi did not appear. Wilkes then informed the royal pair that they would be held as hostages pending Vendovi's apprehension. Far from resenting this, the king quickly gave his consent for the arrest and exile, adding that the killer was a dangerous rival, loathed throughout the islands for his cruelty. The king stated that he had so enjoyed his visit aboard the squadron that he would like to see the wonders of the United States. Wilkes was obliged to deny the request. But Vendovi was taken aboard and accompanied the expedition for the duration of the voyage. He later died in the New York Naval Hospital.

In compliance with his orders, Wilkes was obliged to interrupt his Pacific surveys in 1839 to make a second cruise in Antarctic waters. While the squadron lay at Sydney, harbor crimps unsuccessfully attempted to shanghai the crew of the *Flying Fish* and other members of the squadron. The numerous visitors to the squadron expressed unfavorable comments concerning the comparison of Wilkes' fleet with that of the British Captain James Ross, then preparing his own fleet for a journey into southern latitudes. Many feared the Americans would never survive the rigors of the trip. And it was with a heavy heart that Wilkes again ordered the squadron to set sail. The food and fuel supply would prove insufficient should the boats be compelled to winter there. The ships were so crowded much of the bread supply was stored in the launch and cutter! The rotted upper works of the *Peacock* had been hastily patched up in the time at their disposal, and Wilkes feared for the boat's safety in the dangerous ice fields.

Charts of the day did not indicate the existence of an Antarctic continent, but, as the ships threaded their way through iceberg-studded seas, the greenish waters, muddy soundings, numerous birds, whales, seals and shrimp drew much comment from the crew. By mid-January large mountain peaks were seen beyond the ice fields and daily viewings of these led Wilkes to name the area the "Antarctic Continent."

There are some who have referred to Antarctica as a "frozen hell" and Wilkes might well have agreed with them. Certainly he found the area no paradise. Many of the crew were ill and suffered from boils and ulcers induced by the intense cold. Hurricanes blew daily and the ships' timbers groaned from the impacts with the treacherous ice. Some officers urged that the squadron abandon the cruise, but Wilkes, an unyielding commander with a stern sense of duty, did not give assent. Wilkes now separated the ships for greater safety and to spur discovery.

Soundings indicated that a continental shelf lay along the ice front and Wilkes vainly sought for an opening which would enable him to make a landing. After sailing for 1,800 miles he finally landed on a dirt-covered berg and gathered rock samples of the new continent. The crew enjoyed themselves sliding about on the ice and gathering their own rock specimens. On nearby icebergs the friendly penguins chorused their greetings. Whales were so numerous that their nearly constant spouting reminded the crew of locomotives. Again nature climaxed a thrilling February 14 (1840) with a brilliant showing of the aurora australis and crewmen lay on their backs admiring the magnificent lights.

A return was in order and it was not too soon. The trip brought hardships to the crews of the *Flying Fish* and the *Peacock*. The *Flying Fish* leaked badly, its pumps were inadequate and the men were forced to go for days without dry change of clothing or bedding. The *Peacock* became ensnared by the ice and only after nearly forty-eight hours of Herculean efforts was the crew able to free it and drive the battered hulk to Sydney.

The *Porpoise* met the two ships of the French expedition under Captain D'Urville. Astonishingly enough in such a lonely area both commanders misunderstood the other's intentions and bore away without exchanging greetings.

D'Urville claimed prior discovery to Wilkes, but it has since been proved that he erred in the timing of his log and that his discovery followed Wilkes' discovery.¹ His claim has been criticized because of his inability to land on the continent itself, and some of his positions on the charts have been challenged. The error in these

¹ W. H. Hobbs, *Explorers of the Antarctic* (New York: House of Field Inc., 1941), p. 42.

is due to that combination of clear air and polar mirage, so peculiar to Antarctica, which makes it difficult to estimate distances correctly.² Actually Wilkes' observations and rock samples established the existence of Antarctica.³

Again in the Pacific the expedition continued to amass its valuable information. Wilkes' signal failure as a prophet was revealed in his visit to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). The Polynesian kingdom was ruled by Kamehameha III and his dynamic six-foot spouse, whose feathered tiara and cloak symbolized nobility. The king fretted over the trying situations into which he was thrust by foreign nations seeking concessions, and expressed regret that the United States had not then renewed its treaty of friendship. But Americans, just then pushing west of the Mississippi, to whom railroads and steamships were still novelties, had little interest in Hawaii or other foreign areas.

Japan, behind closed doors, was relatively unknown. Wilkes did not foresee that the next century would bring a treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor or talk of a forty-ninth state. Declaring that the islands would be both difficult and expensive for any power to defend, he predicted for them a future only of limited trade and whaler recruiting.⁴

Wilkes' task required that he split his fleet. While completing a very thorough survey of the Oregon coast, the *Peacock* was wrecked in the dangerous uncharted waters of the Columbia. Wilkes recommended Puget Sound as the dividing line between the United States and Canada, and his advice was instrumental in settling the boundary dispute. After visiting the Philippines, Singapore, Capetown and St. Helena the squadron reached New York in 1842.

During its four-year absence the fleet had visited all continents except Europe and the mainland of Asia, explored more islands than any other expedition, and set a mileage record exceeded only by Captain Cook and present-day air-borne explorers.

Wilkes received a cold ungrateful reception at home. During his absence his enemies had attacked his integrity as well as his accomplish-

ments. The new Whig administration lent willing ears to charges that the expedition was costly and mismanaged. The rigid discipline and prolonged length of the trip had caused more than a hundred desertions of the crew and some of these men joined in the criticism.

Another factor which precipitated the court-martial was a statement attributed to Captain James Ross. On his return from Antarctica to Sydney, Wilkes, in a glow of pride and with a generous desire to provide the Englishman with a chart to guide him, decided to send Ross a chart of the area and information concerning conditions there. Ross denied the existence of land there and this led to the charge that Wilkes had fabricated his discovery and claim.

Eleven charges were brought against Wilkes and these included cruelty to seamen and natives, wearing the uniform of a rank to which he was not entitled (captain), and overstepping his authority. The sworn testimony of the crew, however, impelled Congressional leaders to accept Wilkes' statements concerning Antarctica, and the other charges were dropped. Lieutenant Wilkes was given a mild censure for the discipline he had ordered at Callao, Peru, when the crew of the *Relief* had been flogged (then a legal punishment) for indulging in a spree following the illegal opening of the squadron's liquor stores.

Wilkes did not hold malice towards those who testified against him. Throughout his journal there are numerous instances to indicate his concern for the well-being of his crew, his kindness and considerate treatment of natives and officials in the areas visited. The squadron aided passing vessels, giving food and medical treatment whenever needed. Wilkes' dismay at conditions witnessed aboard whaling vessels led him to urge needed reforms.

Wilkes wrote five volumes about the expedition. Others were contemplated, but Congress refused to appropriate additional funds. At his own expense Wilkes later published other scientific material.

The expedition accomplished much good. The plants gathered during the survey formed the nucleus of the United States Botanical Gardens and scientists, independent of Darwin, worked out a thesis of coral origins. Improved maps would now guide ships safely across the Pacific,

² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁴ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition V*, (New York: G. P. Putnam and Company, 1856), p. 262.

and natives of the islands would treat the sailor more hospitably.

Wilkes is briefly mentioned in history books for his role in the "Trent Affair." During the Civil War, under orders to hurry home from the African theatre of war, Wilkes stopped to remove the Confederate agents, Mason and Slidell, from a British mail steamer. The Union, anxious to avoid a war with England, finally disavowed Wilkes' action, though his action was in agreement with British law.

As commander of the James and Potomac River flotillas and later the West Indies squadron, Wilkes captured several blockade runners and on more than one occasion exchanged sharp words with British skippers, narrowly averting actual shooting. An outspoken individual, Wilkes' tart exchanges with Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles over Wilkes' failure to overtake the Confederate cruisers, *Florida* and *Alabama*, and to specifically follow his superior's instructions resulted in another court-martial. Wilkes was found guilty on all charges, publicly reprimanded and suspended for three years. This was later reduced to one year and he was retired with the rank of Rear Admiral. Wilkes spent his remaining years living in Washington, D. C. and writing reports of the

expedition until his death in 1877.

The comparative obscurity of Wilkes is due to several reasons. The nation was more interested in the slavery issue, in California gold, and in westward migration. The interest of Americans waned as the long absence and lack of rapid communication prevented them from following the progress of the squadron. For many years only whaling crews visited Antarctic waters. World interest in exploration centered in the North Pole, Africa, and Asia. The American government never formally entered claim to Antarctica and for decades Wilkes has been one of the most forgotten men of American history.

Today a pin-point island in the Samoan area bears Wilkes' name, as does a part of the Antarctic continent. The Smithsonian Institute displays one of Wilkes' few decorations—the wafer-thin Founders' Medal presented by the Royal Geographical Society of London "For His Discoveries and His Account of Them."⁵ Wilkes' more tangible rewards lay in his contribution to science, the promotion of greater safety in sea travel, and the increased knowledge he gave the world of its fellow men.

⁵ W. H. Hobbs, *Explorers of the Antarctic*, p. 49.

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Graham Junior-Senior High School, Mount Vernon, New York

"Holiday Series". . . Built to fill a long-felt need in the secondary and elementary school field, a new series of eight all-color film strips is being released this month by Young America Films. The filmstrips treat Columbus Day, Thanksgiving, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, etc. Write to Young America Films, 18 East 41st Street, New York 17, N. Y.

A long awaited addition to the growing list of specialized publications on the educational film is the book *Film and Education*, a 600-page symposium published this month by Philosophical Library, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

Now available to educators and students in the field of audio-visual education is a new bibliography, *Selected References on Audio-*

Visual Methods; it has been announced by Film Research Associates, P. O. Box 205, New York 10, New York.

CHARTS, MAPS, POSTERS, AND OTHER AIDS

Available free of charge to schools are colored poster card sets, 12" x 15" in size, on British West Africa.

Available free of charge are the following: "Line Maps of Britain." These are a set of six maps, showing counties, physical features, geographic regions, population, natural resources and agriculture, and industries. (8½" x 13"); they may be obtained from the British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.

SLIDES AND FILM STRIPS

Film strips are now available from the British

Information Services. Varying in length from twenty-six to seventy frames, they are invaluable as teaching aids and can be presented separately or in conjunction with a film on a similar topic. Each film strip is accompanied by a list of frame titles in chronological order, as well as mimeographed material which serves as a study guide. The film strips may be purchased for \$1.00 each.

"Land of Britain" . . . This film strip (40 frames) touches on all aspects of East Anglican life—the industries, and agriculture, the scenic spots, and rich history.

"Tea from the Empire" . . . This film strip (44 frames) traces the history of this tea drinking nation in the development of the world's tea industries.

"Housing Britons" . . . Before the war, the British government sponsored an intensive slum clearance and housing program. Now, because of war damage, Britain is faced with the most severe housing shortage in her history. This film strip (63 frames) traces the history of British housing from the nineteenth century, with special emphasis given to postwar plans.

MOVIE FILMS

The first pictures on Mexico and Guatemala

especially adapted for elementary and secondary school use have just been released by Simel-Meservey, Inc.; Beverly Hills, Calif.

"Riches of Guatemala" (color and B & W) includes absorbing scenes on the cultivation of coffee, bananas, corn and pepper, cinchona for quinine, plants for rotenone—with a varied background of activity in markets, farms and forests.

"Guatemala Story" (color) presents people and industries, geography and customs, native Indians at work and play, modern cities and buildings.

"Modern Mexico" (color and B & W) examines Mexico's cities, architectural achievements, people, transportation, housing, education, harbors and sports.

"Industries of Mexico" (color and B & W) presents modern Mexico, its agricultural processes and animals, industries and handicrafts. "Alaska, A Modern Frontier" (color and B & W). This 16 mm. film takes the students on a trip to visit the gold miner, salmon fisherman, pioneer farmer; it lets them see for themselves why Alaska is really a modern frontier. Write to Coronet Films, Chicago, Illinois.

News and Comment

LEONARD B. IRWIN

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TELEVISION AS AN EDUCATIONAL MEDIUM

The miracle of television, long anticipated, has now become a reality. It is sufficiently well established, especially in the East, for its basic pattern of development to be seen, and for reasonably sound predictions to be made. It is not nearly so difficult to imagine what television will be like in five years as it would have been to make a similar prediction for radio at the same stage of its development a quarter century ago. For television obviously is following in the path of radio and seems certain to fall heir to its shortcomings as well as its popularity. Probably the most striking feature of television so far is the lack of originality which marks its programming. It adheres strictly to such basic formulas for successful radio programs as can be cheaply adapted to video. Sports, amateur

shows, old films in place of soap operas, travelogues, news analysts seen instead of merely heard, vaudeville routines—all of these parallel closely the program fare of early (and current) radio. So far television has produced almost nothing to indicate that its promoters and sponsors are going to break new ground in providing popular education and entertainment.

The radio industry has plowed itself into a deep rut. The basic difficulty, of course, is the complete reliance on advertising revenue as a means of support. Sponsors want programs that will attract listeners, and they feel the safest solution is to use types of programs that have already proved successful. Hence we have a plethora of "tear-jerkers," mystery dramas, gangster serials for the kiddies, give-away shows, news commentators, disc jockeys, and

comedy programs. "High-brow" music and also features with educational value or unusual ideas are viewed with suspicion because they may not attract as large or as impressionable an audience as the programs whose mass appeal has been clearly proved. Hence programs of the better kind can be looked for only from sponsors whose products have some "snob appeal," or from broadcasting stations using them as sustaining material to fill in blank spots in their schedules.

The people who are responsible for radio programs are not to blame for providing what the public wants; after all, they are private business enterprises, dependent on profits. But they *are* to blame if they do not find out whether the public really wants what it is getting. As a public utility, radio should provide the kind of service the people desire and will pay for, not what a sponsor *thinks* the public wants. Numerous surveys have indicated that serious radio listening is on the decline. The public is growing tired of the same old material. Just as when the movies have to resort to "dish nights" and "bank nights" to lure patrons inside, so radio is having to fall back on give-away shows of the most absurd kind in order to bolster its waning popularity.

Possibly by this time radio has become so commonplace and stereotyped that any serious attempts to broaden its scope are foredoomed to failure. Television is still in its infancy; it is depressing to find that the same policies which control radio are already becoming characteristic of the newer and far more useful medium. Except for sports and a few rare public events such as the national conventions, television programs are almost entirely confined to shows originating in the studio. Either as films or prepared skits, they are merely visual presentations of what has long been standard radio fare.

Even the methods of television programming are the same as those of radio; the few outstanding programs are carefully placed on different networks at the same day and hour in order to compete with each other. As a result, none of the good programs realizes its potential audience, and the public is deprived of seeing all the better ones. So far there has been little evidence that television directors and sponsors

are going to make wide use of TV's greatest asset—its ability to reproduce life as it is being lived, visually as well as orally. Perhaps technical difficulties are still too great.

The entertainment and educational possibilities of television are enormous. People are chiefly interested in one thing—other people in action. That is why we have "sidewalk superintendents" at construction jobs, crowded benches along boardwalks, and strollers in Central Park and on Fifth Avenue. When suitable mobile equipment can be provided, the sources of television programs can be as broad as humanity itself. A courtroom, a busy street-corner in a great city, a water-front market, a symphony concert, a small-town church social, a crowded railroad terminal, an automobile assembly line, a beach filled with people, a school play-ground, a modern dairy, a tenement street or a carnival midway—these and a thousand other scenes have more drama, human interest and educational value than most studio programs can possibly provide. The best way to learn about the world is to see it; or to quote Pope: "The proper study of mankind is man." The psychological reasons that have made radio's "Candid Microphone" such a popular program would apply ten-fold to television presentations of ordinary people going about their regular affairs. They would form a never-ending panorama of life itself and hence could never be dull. It is only the artificial which palls. The educational possibilities of such a program would be tremendous, and there would be no actors to pay or rehearse, a great saving to sponsors. Their motto could be: "Stay at Home and See the World!"

We can only hope that television some day will break away from the shackles of its parent, radio, and realize its destiny as the greatest device for mass education ever invented. It will take courage, imagination, and skill on the part of those who direct its development, but if a few leaders show the way successfully, the sheep will follow. The waning popularity of radio should be a warning that people eventually will tire of unreality and tiresome repetition. Television has the opportunity to profit by the lesson and seek new and limitless fields that will be both commercially profitable and of real service to the people.

THE SOCIAL STUDIES CLASSROOM

An attractive classroom is an aid to the learning process, as every experienced teacher knows. The attractiveness should not be merely decorative in an artistic sense but should have utilitarian value. It should reflect the interests, problems and activities of the class, and by so doing, further stimulate those interests. The task of organizing and maintaining this type of room is a challenge to every teacher.

In the social studies field the opportunities for providing attractive and thought-provoking classroom surroundings are very wide. In *The Clearing House* for October there appeared five articles suggesting ways in which the social studies classroom could be given an atmosphere at once pleasant and stimulating. Max Berger, teaching in a New York City vocational high school, described how a dingy classroom was made interesting and significant through the display of projects made by the boys, ranging from dioramas and models to posters and graphs. Materials used included clay, wood, plexiglass, aluminum, and even baked enamel. Each boy's project was on a subject of his own choosing and together the results formed a continuous series of teaching aids which aroused real interest because they made use of the boys' specialized skills.

Saul Israel of Erasmus Hall High School discussed the use of decorative posters dealing with a central theme, and suggested such topics as the United Nations, tolerance, foreign trade, heroes of history, and social-studies skills. He mentioned several sources of free poster material in these fields.

Another of the articles, however, insists that even mediocre pupil work is better than teacher-made exhibits. The writer, John Learson, has found that pupils pay much less attention to ready-made displays than to those which they have made themselves.

Ethel Moss of Santa Barbara High School emphasizes the importance of variety in the materials on display in the social studies classroom. She described her own room, which included displays of pictures emphasizing the "one world" theme; reading lists for various courses; a table containing magazines, pamphlets, folders and other current materials; bookcases for reference and collateral reading;

and bulletin boards for cartoons, posters and clippings.

Wendall Haner described the illustrative materials used in Ravinia School, Highland Park, Illinois, to stimulate interest in current events. One wall of the room contained a large compass design over a hemisphere map. On one side of it was a news "thermometer" which could be changed daily to show graphically the rise or fall in the importance of news. Whenever the meter reached the top, a news test was given. On another part of the wall a section was reserved for cartoons, pictures, advertisements and other pertinent materials provided by the teacher, and near it was another area for student contributions. There was a lively competition between teacher and pupils to provide the most interesting and original items.

These articles perhaps suggest nothing which has not been used in thousands of other classrooms, but they serve to remind social studies teachers of the important possibilities of classroom displays. To provide and maintain them requires ceaseless work and much originality, but to neglect their use is to overlook a potent means of motivation.

UNESCO ACTIVITIES

This department has called attention before to the new publication, *UNESCO Courier*. It is a fascinating paper, partly, perhaps, because of a kind of atmosphere of unreality that surrounds it. To read it after spending a month with the daily newspapers is to feel somehow that the *Courier* and its news items were printed on some other planet. Its complete preoccupation with projects and activities for the promotion of civilization and peace and its utter neglect of the existence of unfriendliness in the world make one wonder whether the editors may not have their offices on Saturn instead of in Paris. Yet of course it is not naivete or ignorance which give the *Courier* its unworldly air; it is simply the fact that it, as the voice of UNESCO, is wholly concerned with constructive things and has no space to waste on man's weaknesses and failures. Practically the only reference to world disorder in the September issue, for example, is an article on a special session of the UNESCO General Conference called to discuss whether the third regular session scheduled to convene in Beirut

in October should be held at that time and place in view of the troubles in the Middle East.

Most of the news featured in the *Courier* receives little attention in the regular press because it is overshadowed by the more exciting tidings of disaster everywhere. Yet there are many things in its pages of great importance. The September number, for example, described UNESCO's Book Coupon Scheme which is nearly ready to be put into operation on an experimental basis. This is a plan for making easier the purchase of foreign books and magazines, a matter which is of very considerable difficulty today in view of different currencies and strict barriers to currency exchange. UNESCO proposes to set up its experiment by establishing a "hard" currency reserve of \$100,000 as a backing for the book purchase coupons. These coupons, in denominations from twenty-five cents to ten dollars, will be sold by a national agency in each participating country to persons wishing to buy books from a foreign bookseller. The coupons will be sent abroad to pay for the books and the seller will present them to UNESCO for redemption less a small discount to cover overhead expenses. The national agency which sells the coupons transfers the equivalent of the local currency to UNESCO in dollars, francs or sterling. During the experimental phase the plan will be limited to a half dozen countries and coupons will be sold chiefly to educational institutions rather than to individuals. If it proves successful, it is expected that UNESCO's member states will make a sufficiently large reserve fund available so that the plan can be extended on a much wider basis.

Another UNESCO project has for its purpose the promotion of art appreciation on an international scale. Feeling that a very large proportion of the world's people have no opportunity to see the great masterpieces of painting, UNESCO is fostering a plan whereby high quality color reproductions will be made generally available. The plan has two phases. As part of the project, UNESCO is obtaining samples and lists from some 200 publishers of color reproductions throughout the world. It is also making arrangements to have special folios of reproductions made. As the second

part of the project, it is preparing comprehensive catalogs for world-wide distribution; from these a prospective purchaser can tell exactly where to obtain a first-class reproduction of any desired masterpiece. Because of the magnitude of the task, the catalogs are being prepared in sections. The first three, to be completed early in 1949, will cover modern art since 1860, Persian art, and Italian Renaissance painting. Subsequent catalogs will deal with other phases and periods.

The Department of Mass Communications, seeking some small and practical way of bringing home UNESCO beliefs to the press, radio and film people of the world, plans to present them late in 1949 with a sort of year-book or daily almanac which will be devoted to emphasizing mankind's past and present efforts to achieve peace and happiness. One section of the book will list all events of international cooperation in the fields of education, science and culture planned for the ensuing year. The second section will be a calendar showing day by day the anniversaries of persons and events from the world's past that have contributed to the progress of peace and civilization—"a prayer-book for a three hundred and sixty-five day memorial service to the great and the humble whose universe we have inherited." In view of the millions of dollars that are spent annually on calendars, almanacs and memorandum books designed to sell almost every other commodity or service, it is pleasant to contemplate the appearance of one whose purpose will be to advertise nothing but good will and brotherhood. Governments do far less valuable things with the taxpayers' money.

These three examples of UNESCO projects culled from the pages of one issue of the *Courier* may at first glance seem like very small matters in a world troubled with every form of unfriendliness and bitterness. Yet they represent a movement which is all we can cling to for hope,—a union of men of good will from all lands who are trying to rise above the selfishness and hate and suspicion that lies everywhere. Their efforts may often seem futile, but if they prove so, then surely mankind is beyond hope.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

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The Sociology of Child Development. By James H. S. Bossard. New York: Harper and Brother, 1948. Pp. 790. \$4.50.

Many sincere men and women are confused and upset by the modern tendency to try to understand, respect, and guide the development of children. Some remember their own childhood with its rigorous enforcement of the dicta that "children should be seen and not heard"; that adults should determine what is best for children and train them for their future life by means of emphasis on intellectual powers and the storing up of knowledge.

Dr. Bossard, who is professor of sociology and Director of the William T. Carter Foundation, University of Pennsylvania, has provided a unique approach to the study of child development and the changing status of childhood. He has attempted to show that while serfs, slaves, and women revolted against the domination of others, it is only in the last few years that the child has been liberated. As the "last serf of civilization" he has begun to take on the status of equality, to be considered an individual with feelings and a need for an opportunity to develop into an independent, self-respecting person.

There is no sentimental idealization of childhood in Dr. Bossard's book. He is not a proponent of ultra-progressive education or of letting the child dominate the school or the home. He does, however, believe that the most important social relationships are those dealing with domination and submission—between parent and child, teacher and pupil, men and women, the rich and the poor. One has only to read of the long history of infanticide, abandonment and exposure among primitive societies, and of the Roman father's right to reject, sell, disinherit, mutilate or even kill his children, to realize how changed the child's position is in the modern world.

The Middle Ages were notorious for their exploitation of young children, and the severity of child discipline and punishment. Dr. Bossard

quotes Defoe as being delighted to find that "there was not a child in the town or villages round it of above five years old, but, if it was not neglected by its parents and untaught, could earn its own bread." Such a conception of childhood is completely foreign to twentieth century man.

In addition to a review of the status of childhood and the history of the Child Welfare Movement in the United States, excellent treatment is given such topics as "The Role of Peer Groups," "Growing out of the Family," "The Bilingual Child," "The Role of the Guest," "Homes with Conflict Situations," and "School Situations and Child Development." The last mentioned has especial interest for teachers. It emphasizes that the school is a "complex of social situations in which children live, compete, perform, develop attitudes, form response patterns, fail and succeed in the process of getting along in the world." Much emphasis has been placed on the overwhelming importance of the home in child development, so much so that the role of the school has tended to be overlooked. The author points out that the school is a place of work which the child is paid to attend, that the public treasury recompenses him through its expenditures for schools and parents maintain him in return for his enrollment at an educational institution. Thus it is in school that the child develops his patterns of work behavior. How he studies, therefore, becomes of more importance than what he studies.

Besides being a place of work, the school is a fairly complete social cosmos. It is here that the child learns to understand and practice social living and methods of cooperation. The problems children face when forced to enter a school for the first time or when schools must be changed are carefully pointed out. Faced with a roomful of unfamiliar children and forced to associate with them, the child must learn to gain the acceptance of the group and acquire status on his own merits. The dilemma

of the child who lacks techniques for entering a group—the sensitive or overprotected child—is clearly shown.

The results from an analysis of the autobiographies of twenty-one individuals showed that success with his group correlated with the child's adjustment to academic learning. Unhappy social relationships tended to be accompanied by failure or retreat into precocious academic attainments. There was evidence that the teacher carried a major responsibility not only in helping the child learn but also for his assumption of patterns of social living. The teacher was often not only a disciplinarian but a real friend and counselor.

Explanation is also made of the teacher who develops into a "hard marker" or has a "tough attitude" toward children. Such factors as the teacher's age, sex, mental hygiene, and the way he handles behavior problems are discussed. Excellent and abundant case material illustrates many of the chapters.

The reader of Dr. Bossard's book becomes well aware of the danger of enforcing or molding children into specific personality types as did the totalitarian states. He is also shown the great waste and unhappiness that results from the unrealistic, over-solicitous attitude of parents and teachers which fails to permit children to grow up, assume responsibilities and prepare themselves to take a place as mature individuals in society.

A thirty-two page bibliography of books and articles supplements the text.

MARIAN RAYBURN BROWN

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Civilization On Trial. By Arnold J. Toynbee.
New York: Oxford University Press, 1948.
Pp. vii, 263. \$3.50.

What will be singled out as the salient event of our time by future historians, looking back on the first half of the twentieth century? It might be the search for the long-range meaning of present-day conditions and events, a theme which runs throughout *Civilization On Trial*, a volume of essays by Arnold J. Toynbee.

For that scholarly English historian the great event of our age is no single revolution, war, or invention, but rather the "impact of the Western civilization upon all the other living

societies of the world." This impact may result eventually in the "unification of mankind into one single society."

Such hopeful speculations on the part that Western civilization may be playing in world history are accompanied by grave warnings of the dangers which this civilization faces. Dr. Toynbee says:

Our present situation is formidable indeed. A survey of the historical landscape in the light of our existing knowledge shows that up to date history has repeated itself about twenty times in producing human societies of the species to which our Western society belongs, and it has also shown that, with the possible exception of our own, all these . . . civilizations are already dead or moribund.

Moreover, when we study the histories of these dead and moribund civilizations in detail, and compare them with one another, we find indications of what looks like a recurring pattern in the process of their breakdowns, declines and falls. . . . Is that pattern of decline and fall in store for us in our turn, as a doom from which no civilization can hope to escape?

Not necessarily. The fact that history generally repeats does not mean that it must repeat. "It is open to us, through our own efforts, to give history, in our case, some new and unprecedented turn."

Dr. Toynbee feels that we are likely to survive if the following can be achieved: "In politics . . . a constitutional cooperative system of world government. In economics . . . working compromises (varying according to the practical requirements of different places and times) between free enterprise and socialism." In the life of the spirit, recognition of religion as "the serious business of the human race."

But, before we have time to reach these goals, mankind may destroy itself. Through the influence of Western civilization, the various peoples of the earth have been put in such close contact with one another that conflicts can be world-wide. Western technological inventions, moreover, may at last enable a global war to exterminate the human race.

Because of this new and dangerous situation, civilization can no longer afford to "go on shambling along, from failure to failure, in the painful, degrading, but not utterly suicidal way

in which it has kept going for the first few thousand years of its existence. We in this Westernized world in our generation are confronted with a choice of alternatives which the ruling elements in other societies in the past have always been able to shirk—with dire consequences, invariably for themselves, but not at the extreme price of bringing to an end the history of mankind on this planet." We must meet the challenges presented by world political, economic, and moral problems, or see them "win a victory over man which, this time, would be conclusive and definitive."

There was a period, shortly before World War I, says Dr. Toynbee, when prosperous Englishmen and Americans felt that they were "living outside history altogether . . . secure against being engulfed in that ever-rolling stream in which Time had borne all his less privileged sons away." No one who has thoughtfully read *Civilization on Trial* or Dr. Toynbee's well-known *A Study of History* can harbor that mistaken belief now.

THOMAS K. MEYER

Civic Education Service
Washington, D. C.

Public Opinion and Propaganda. By Leonard W. Doob. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948. Pp. 557. \$5.00.

This excellent book contains such a vast amount of information on public opinion and propaganda that it is virtually impossible to do justice to it in a brief review such as this. The reader can be certain of a very thorough and exhaustive analysis of the subject. For this reason, perhaps, it may not be easy reading for those who are not specialists in the field. The book, however, will be of definite value to anyone cast in the role of either the producer or consumer of public opinion and propaganda. The reader will learn, for instance, how to plan or dissect an advertising campaign, how to conduct or to understand a public opinion poll, how to affect an enemy country with propaganda or to be made immune to enemy propaganda. Such matters are of practical importance to the student, citizen or one who is trying to affect, measure or control other people.

Since public opinion and propaganda both involve phases of human behavior, it is the author's contention that insight into them can

be obtained by an understanding of human behavior. Throughout the book, therefore, the discussion is in terms of human beings. Specific illustrations of both public opinion and propaganda, drawn mostly from the fields of politics, business and war, are frequently given. The book's method of approach is a psychological one because it is a potentially fruitful one in that it suggests at least the significant factors that are to be observed or discovered. The author is aware of the difficulty involved in applying psychological principles or laws to social situations involving many people. Because the other social sciences can throw light on the complicated social situations in which stimuli that affect human responses originate, he rightly recognizes that their contribution is absolutely essential.

The book begins with man as an individual. Man is presented as a creature who responds to certain stimuli in his internal and external environment. The analysis proceeds to an examination of many men simultaneously in the social situation called public opinion. "Public opinion refers to people's attitudes on an issue when they are members of the same social group." In understanding and analyzing public opinion, three basic questions are relevant: (1) What group is involved? (2) What issue is involved? (3) Why have people responded to the issue? In considering the ways in which public opinion reacts and the basis for those reactions, we find that it may be consistent or inconsistent, may be based on rationalization, may function as a compensatory mechanism, may represent displacement or involve projection, and very likely is a simplification of the issues. Additional insight into public opinion is obtained as the problem of measurement is considered. The questions of sampling public opinion, the mechanics of polling, the evaluation of polls, intensive measures of public opinion as the panel, the open interview and others are considered in detail.

Finally, public opinion is evaluated. Is the voice of the people the voice of ignorance or the voice of God? Should the voice of the people be listened to or not? These are unquestionably matters of supreme importance today. The idea of a well-informed electorate through education is basic in our democracy. With regard to this,

the author pessimistically states: "What is discouraging about democracy in the modern world and what elsewhere has helped give rise to alternate forms of government is the increasing complexity of the affairs with which government must deal. If the forces of democracy have enabled information to be spread at an arithmetically increasing rate, it can be said without much exaggeration that technology and social changes have increased at a geometrical rate the amount of information which needs to be known for the electorate to be intelligent and reasonably expert." His only comment on this dilemma is that perhaps governmental activities in a democracy can be more meaningful to greater numbers of people through decentralization along regional lines.

In considering the nature of propaganda, discrimination between education and propaganda is considered to be not always easy. "Propaganda can be called the attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behavior of individuals toward ends to be considered unscientific or of doubtful value in a society at a particular time." Evidently, then, the imparting of knowledge which has not reached the scientific stage is propaganda. The author, therefore, concludes that the social sciences as usually taught are mixtures of education and propaganda. It is clear that the author employs the word propaganda in a neutral sense to describe the influence of a person upon others when scientific knowledge and survival values are uncertain. From this viewpoint, propaganda is absolutely inevitable. It cannot be exorcised by calling it evil-sounding names.

The author demonstrates that a complete analysis of propaganda which is oriented from a psychological viewpoint must follow propaganda from the time it is a vague thought in the propagandist's mind to the final effect which it has upon the propagandees. This is a long sequence involving the following six steps, with a chapter devoted to each one: (1) The propagandist, (2) The content of the propaganda, (3) The perception of the propaganda, (4) The initial response of the propagandees, (5) The changes produced within the propagandees, (6) The actions of the propagandees. Of special interest is the explanation of the devices employed in propaganda to have individuals learn

pre-action responses of great drive strength and those which increase the strength of a pre-action response that has already been established. It is to be remembered that the objective of propaganda is action, not merely readiness to respond.

The concluding chapters consider the various communication media such as newspapers and other printed media, radio and motion pictures. An analysis of public opinion and propaganda obviously requires an understanding of these communication media, the propaganda that appears in them and the psychological techniques employed. The author is neither grieved nor pleased as he contemplates these modern media of communication. He merely tries faithfully to describe their accomplishments and potentialities and the reasons therefor.

The value of such an analysis as this book provides is clear. It can be of great help to the citizen to find facts and to adopt an analytic attitude toward social situations. What is needed for all of us is as much reason as possible before the plunge into action is taken. Thus is the beginning of self-control and social control made possible even though neither can be guaranteed.

RALPH P. HOLBEN

Dartmouth College
Hanover, New Hampshire

American Public Education: An Introduction.

By Harl R. Douglass and Calvin Grieder.
New York: The Ronald Press Company,
1948. Pp. xi, 593. \$4.50.

This book is a well-organized summary of developments in American public education from colonial times to the present day. It is designed primarily as a text for college courses such as Public Education in the United States or An Introduction to American Education. It may also be used with profit by teachers and administrators in service who wish to keep abreast of developments in American education and by non-teachers—parents, school board members, legislators—for whom a sound knowledge of American education and its problems is really a civic "minimum essential."

The aim of the authors is to provide a compact body of information concerning areas of knowledge important in the preparation of teachers—before service and in service—and their text sums up essentials regarding the

following: (1) organization, support and control of education in the United States; (2) functions and organization of American education at its various levels; (3) composition of and relations within its personnel—pupils, teachers and non-teaching employees; (4) status of curricular and co-curricular activities; (5) character of the teaching profession; (6) differences and similarities between American education and education in other countries; and (7) current trends in American education and probable future developments.

The book is divided into twenty chapters, most of which are illustrated with photographs, charts, tables or maps. No effort is made to cover any subject in detail, but at the end of the book is listed, chapter by chapter, a bibliography of selected references from which supplementary materials may readily be secured.

Especially interesting are the chapters which deal with non-governmental influences on American public education (lay pressure groups, patriotic societies, etc.) and with problems of the teaching profession, viz., professional organization, contracts, tenure, salaries, and education as a career for men. In connection with salaries, the authors pose several questions which might well serve as points of departure for debate among groups making use of the text, e. g., should teachers at different grade levels be paid alike, assuming similar preparation and length of experience? Should provision be made for paying teachers according to merit? Should supplementary allowances be made, in addition to basic salaries, for extra duties, special responsibilities or dependents?

The authors conclude with an optimistic picture of the future—educational opportunities will be provided for all, from nursery age to death, with full-time attendance for the great majority to grade 12, 13, or 14; opportunity for education will be relatively equal throughout the nation regardless of race, religion, color or economic status of family or community; teachers, along with parents and all other youth-serving agencies, will be concerned with all the problems of young people and many adults—rendering to all an integrated counselling and educational service aimed at self-direction; teachers in the school of the future will be as-

signed lighter class loads (thank Heaven for that!); most schools will be large enough to make possible a rich curriculum, a diversified and not too heavily loaded teaching staff, and well-adapted housing and equipment. These are but a few characteristics of the school of tomorrow in which the authors feel teaching will become a more stimulating and satisfying experience.

Regarding the school of tomorrow, the authors may be taking to flights of fancy but regarding the subject of historical development of, and current trends, in American public education, however, they keep on solid ground, and their text is an excellent summary of materials to be covered in that field.

JAMES A. KILLOUGH

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Frankford High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The House of Nasi: Doña Gracia. By Cecil Roth.
Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society
of America, 5708-1947 (1948). Pp. xiii, 208.
\$3.00.

Among the most remarkable of the personalities in Jewish history is Doña Gracia Nasi, an extraordinary woman in every respect. Banker, diplomat, philanthropist, defender of her people and promoter of Jewish culture, she was revered by her contemporaries and earned the highest esteem among Jewish historians in succeeding generations; the fact that she wielded enormous influence so many centuries before the so-called emancipation of women is in itself a tribute to her strength and nobility of character.

The noted historian, Cecil Roth, presents in this volume the first full-length biography of this great woman in the English language, tracing her career from its beginnings among the Marranos of Portugal and from her rise to financial power to Antwerp, through her wanderings to escape the Inquisition and return to the faith of her fathers, down to her declining years as "the Crowned Lady," the dominant personality in Jewish affairs in the Turkish Empire. Roth tells this poignant story of human devotion to a great cause in a direct and fluent style within the framework of her generation and the intense struggle which the secret Jews (Marranos) of

the sixteenth century waged for freedom of conscience. Those who like to make history assignments more interesting by focusing on well-written biographies will find Roth's treatment of inestimable value.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

University of Bridgeport
Bridgeport, Connecticut

The Story of John Hope. By Ridgely Torrence.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948.
Pp. 398. \$5.00.

Ridgely Torrence, recognized poet and dramatist, has here turned biographer and historian with resounding success. Long sensitive to, and interpretive of the basic drama in, the story of the American Negro, Torrence has now firmly eulogized the subject of this biography into a position of the stature of that held by such as Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington.

John Hope, 1868-1936, was an educational statesman not only in his development of Morehouse College as its president for a quarter of a century, but especially for his creation of the Atlantic University Affiliation, a federation of Atlantic Negro colleges united by a common library and crowned by a graduate school possessing a brilliant faculty garnered from many states and even Europe—the first equipped graduate school of university grade that Negroes have had. Of this accomplishment Torrence observes, “. . . fostering a Negro liberal arts college in the South was a good deal like raising a delicate swamp flower in a desert.” It should be remembered that at Tuskegee higher education was excluded.

After a boyhood in Atlanta, Georgia, during the Reconstruction period, five years as a clerk and steward in an Atlanta restaurant until he was eighteen, four years as a student at Worcester Academy in Massachusetts (on the strength of a \$100 loan from his brother), and another four years as an outstanding student at Brown University (even though he went through his senior year in a second-hand pair of breeches given him by a sympathetic professor, and many times had actually not enough food to eat, he was chosen class orator at his commencement and was elected permanent president of his class ten years after gradua-

tion), no one has yet seen the Negro problem and its ramifications with clearer understanding than John Hope. Renouncing opportunity in the North to return to Georgia, he said simply: “It may be hell, but my people are there and I’m going home.” Because he was able to pass as a white man had he chosen to (his mother was a quadroon and his father a pedigreed Scotsman), Hope’s indefatigable dedication to the cause of Negro advancement seems all the more remarkable. Not only did he believe in training young Negroes for the intelligent and enlightened leadership of their own race, but as he also wrote: “I do dare believe that great minds supported by an impelling heart can change society.”

Hope had a beautifully high-minded view of human relationships not only in terms of peace, equality, and friendship, but also in terms of mutual inter-racial cooperation for the welfare of humanity. Erudite, the recipient of five honorary doctor’s degrees, a member and leader of numerous national and international committees and commissions, a charter organizer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and ultimately honored by Negroes and whites alike, John Hope’s unique contribution was, as Torrence astutely summarizes, “not academic but spiritual.” No matter what he taught, “his real subject was always the art of living.” Although John Hope’s childhood was in an unusually happy and loving home, through experience, study, and wide travel he came to see that over the world colored people were being exploited and obstructed by whites, with the result that his innate sense of justice, democracy, and Christianity made him a dedicated and effective “Man with a Cause.”

John Hope lived to see many of his visions take on substance, and he knew the tremendous satisfaction of having successful former students in key positions throughout the Negro world, but his influence on the American scene has not yet run its full course; for some of his educational blueprints are even now being realized, and his two fine sons (one achieved the highest rank yet given a Negro in the American Navy in World War II) are now actively making their own contributions to the advancement of their race.

Scattered throughout this book are interest-

ing historical asides, such as references to an enlightened dynasty of Negro Egyptian Pharaohs, consultations of Jefferson Davis at a hotel in Niagara Falls with Englishmen and Americans who were in sympathy with the South, and the Hamburg, North Carolina, massacre of 1876 which was denounced by Representative James A. Garfield on the floor of Congress. The meticulous student of history, however, will wish that he had documented such statements as, "... Eli Whitney, experimenting with an idea believed to have been received from a Negro plantation hand..."

In gathering material for this volume, Torrence has been a painstaking interviewer of contemporaries who knew, worked with, and lived with John Hope. There are frequent paragraphs of truly distinguished writing, a sensitive surrender to the genius of John Hope, and an ample sprinkling of revealing quotations from Hope's speeches and personal letters.

The stature of John Hope himself, the identification of his life with the tremendous post-Civil War cause of his chosen people, and the high ability of the author, all make this a truly notable biography.

CARLOS DE ZAFRA, JR.

John Marshall High School
Rochester, New York

Everyday Problems of American Democracy.

By John F. Greenan. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948. Pp. 614. \$2.96.

This book is a revised and enlarged edition of *Problems of American Democracy* by Greenan and Meredith. Some chapters have been entirely rewritten, some revised, others omitted, and several additions have been made. Even the placement of the chapters in the different sections has been changed. Recent controversial problems have replaced those that are out of date and of doubtful value.

A significant change in the new edition is the placing of "Our Democratic Way of Life" in the introduction and not at the end of the book. Also, the fourth part, "The United States and the Nations of the World," dealing with new developments in our foreign policy, the problems of democratic and totalitarian states living together, the policies of nations toward

their colonies and the development of international trade is a worthwhile and practical contribution to a consideration of world problems. As in the earlier publication, most of the chapters contain debatable topics with arguments for and against the question but usually the final conclusions are left to the pupils. In this way the goal of training the student to think for himself is attempted.

In the political section the author has combined the two chapters on state government into one on state administration but more stimulating and interesting problems have been presented and recent legislation is adequately discussed. Another valuable contribution, in the Social Problems section, is of intergroup understanding. Here the vexing problem of interracial relations is debated thoroughly and fairly. Under the topic of housing the present-day need for homes is the center of discussion.

The greatest number of changes seems to have been made in the Economic section. Each chapter has either been entirely revised or sections rewritten. Lately enacted farm legislation, tax laws, and labor acts make this part a valuable aid to the pupil. In the chapter on "Organized Labor" a fair and impartial presentation of both sides of the controversy is given. Details of the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Act are stated so that they are within the comprehension and understanding of the average high school pupil. Both stimulating and interesting are the problems of conservation, in particular, one of atomic energy. Of current interest in the consumer problem is that of cooperatives.

Particularly valuable are the concrete and thought-provoking questions to arouse thinking on the part of the pupils and with helpful devices to assist in their decisions. The many up-to-date graphs, well-chosen cartoons, illustrations, and recently enacted laws are aids to the teacher as well as the pupil. Accessible references at the end of each chapter are grouped under topics suitable for discussion.

ALICE HANNIGAN

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Economic Analysis. By Kenneth E. Boulding. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948. Revised Edition. Pp. 873. \$5.00.

According to the author's Preface, "the purpose of this book is twofold." First, "as a text from which the student can learn, and the teacher teach the methods and results of economic analysis." Second, "it seeks to be a contribution to the development and systematization of the body of economic analysis itself."

In method of approach, the author makes a distinct break with the traditional treatment of economic principles—production, consumption, distribution, and exchange—and begins at once with demand and supply. The revised edition makes several changes, both in content and organization of materials. The author is convinced that these changes lead to a better understanding of economic analysis, though he is of the opinion that in many respects the second edition of *Economic Analysis* is less "finished" than the first, representing something of a halfway house on the way toward a fairly radical reformation of the body of economic doctrine. With this the reviewer is inclined to agree.

The method of treatment of the subject is somewhat new, what the author calls the "implemental" method, and classifies the various topics according to the analytical tools or implements used. It is an integration of principles and problems by means of a set of questions and exercises at the end of each chapter which are designed to assist the student in the application of theory to the practical problems of economic life. The purpose of this integration is to give the student a rigorous training in methods of analysis rather than to prime him with a knowledge of current opinions in economic thought.

The introduction of the concept "macro-economics" constitutes a distinct contribution to economic analysis. Here the author distinguishes between "macro-" and "micro-" economics. The latter of these is a study of particular firms and households, individual prices, wages, and incomes; individual industries and particular commodities. "Macro-economics," on the other hand, is concerned with "aggregates"—not with the price of separate types of goods, but with the general price level; not with individual firms, but with the whole economic system. This should

be a decided advantage to the student in understanding what is included in the analysis, and should aid in clarity of thinking.

The book involves too much mathematics for the average college undergraduate beginning the study of economics. The work may also be criticized for overdeveloping the theory of perfect competition, which, as the author himself admits, "exists only in the imagination of economists."

Part Four: "More Advanced Analysis," is better suited to the intellectual level of advanced economics students than to beginners in economic study. The book might be better used as a text in economic theory than as an introductory text in Principles.

Most of the book is fairly readable and rather lucid, particularly in the earlier chapters.

WILLIAM R. HOWELL

Washington College
Chestertown, Maryland

American Economy. By S. J. Flink. New York: The Dryden Press, 1948. Pp. xviii, 746. \$4.75.

Can anyone imagine a new economics text not offering discussion of Socialism, Communism, and Fascism? Such a text exists under the title given above. And appropriately enough. For the author is dealing with the American scene, and is, accordingly, more interested in explaining our present economic system than in attempting to set forth the true inwardness of some of our pet aversions.

Indicating that he is far from considering Capitalism as having approached perfection, Dr. Flink writes:

Economic developments in the United States during the past two decades illustrate the nature of economic insecurity in present-day society. The prosperity wave of the years 1925-1929 carried the country to an unprecedented level of well-being. . . . Suddenly in the fall of 1929 the crash came. . . . Millions of men and women walked the streets unable to find employment. . . . Poverty and starvation blighted many homes which only a short while before had reflected an atmosphere of security and prosperity.

Dr. Flink, however, does not hold with those who believe that the abandonment of Capitalism is now a necessity. He views Capitalism as a dynamic system—a system continuously modified by changing circumstances, including

the efforts of men toward its improvement as its weaknesses are revealed.

The dynamic nature of the economic pattern calls for a ceaseless re-examination of theory in the light of changing economic currents. It is a well-known fact that life in all its manifestations is a continuous process of change and motion. The pace and the direction of economic change, however, are primarily a product of social forces, i.e., of human action.

The author reasons that since Capitalism was founded upon the institutions of private property, free enterprise, and free competition, it is apparent that the forms of the economic order under Capitalism are as flexible as these three institutions themselves. In our own country, for instance, Capitalism began as mercantile Capitalism, then took on the aspect of industrial Capitalism, and now has evolved into finance Capitalism. This last stage is characterized by the corporate form of business and the development of the banking structure and auxiliary institutions. It may be said, then, that Capitalism in 1948 differs greatly from that of 1848, and that Capitalism in 1848 was unlike Capitalism in 1748.

Any adequate interpretation of our contemporary economic order must, therefore, take into account the existing facts. The attempt to make use of premises applicable to an earlier era will not prove helpful.

Now free competition tends to destroy free competition, and monopoly results. This means that free enterprise tends to become restricted and that private property falls into the hands of the few. Capitalism is thus envisaged as the destroyer of itself. Consequently, in order to preserve private property, free enterprise, and free competition, Capitalism must undergo continuous modification in the direction of individual rights. Apparently, Dr. Flink does not discuss the question as to whether Capitalism may eventually become something else.

Two entire chapters are devoted to the subject of Capitalism. One of these, Chapter III, has the following-named subdivisions: Big Business Comes of Age; Competition and Monopoly; The Leading Creditor Nation; The State as an Economic Force; The Business Cycle.

Two chapters deal with case studies. The first of these, Chapter XIV, is entitled, "Case

Studies: Competitive Industries." The second, Chapter XV, is entitled, "Case Studies: Monopolistic Competition." Labor is the theme of one chapter. Six chapters are devoted to a discussion of "Money and Credit," and five chapters, to "National Income Analysis." There are sixty-one tables and fifty-three figures.

The work is scholarly and well-written. While primarily intended as a textbook, the volume will find a place as a reference work in such courses as economics, sociology, and contemporary problems.

Oregon College of Education J. F. SANTEE
Monmouth, Oregon

Integration of the Humanities and the Social Sciences: A Symposium. Dallas, Texas: University Press in Dallas, Southern Methodist University, 1948. Pp. 92. \$2.00.

Last year, sixty educators from institutions of the Southwest held a conference at Southern Methodist University to discuss the functions of the humanities and the social sciences, and to plan a practical program of integration. This small volume with the formidable title contains nine papers read at the Dallas meeting.

Admitting at the start that considerable confusion exists in connection with the problem of integration, the conference took up such problems as the value of the humanities and the social sciences to each other; the experiments now being conducted in "Humanities" programs at various institutions; necessary changes in present curricula to accomplish closer integration; and the essential problem of how to determine the basic purpose of education.

As might be expected from the nature of the problems, the panel of educators find more to criticize in the present state of affairs than they find to praise. Representatives of the humanities and of the social sciences agree that closer cooperation between their fields is extremely important, and blame many of the unsatisfactory results of the present system on the isolationist attitude of "departments," and the emphasis placed on specialized courses.

In a paper called "Desirable Changes in Present Curricula," Vice-President Dyde, of the University of Colorado, intimates that curricular changes leading to a program in general education are not easy to make. The tremendous complexity of the modern college curriculum,

the "state's-rights" attitude of individual departments, the desire of all faculty members to be included in any broad program change, the contrasts in a system which boasts of administrative efficiency in "processing" students and "packaging" grades, but which admits it cannot define the meaning or purpose of a liberal arts degree, are serious and difficult barriers to set aside.

The importance of history, particularly in intellectual and cultural fields, as a basic factor in any program of integration for general education is emphasized strongly, but "scientific" history suffers considerable condemnation for its attempts to establish "laws" of history. President Umphrey Lee, of Southern Methodist University, points out that the racial theory of the Nazis and the economic determinism of the Communists were justified to the world largely through so-called "laws" of scientific history.

A serious indictment of the present educational system comes from a representative of a university press, who accuses both the humanities and social sciences of trying to imitate the methods of natural science, searching for knowledge on a mass-production basis, and producing much "knowledge" and little "learning." So-called "scholarly contributions to knowledge" do not find a ready market for publication because in many cases the "scholars" cannot use the essential tool of their profession—the ability to write correct English sentences and paragraphs.

The book contains outlines of the "Columbia Plan," explained by Professor Louis M. Hacker, and the "Minnesota Plan," described by Professor Alburey Castell, and should certainly be read carefully by college teachers and administrators who are contemplating a program for General Education. Among the constructive ideas they will find as starting points for their projects are these: Pay less attention to labels like "humanities" and "social sciences," and more to the scheme of values which education should emphasize; avoid over-specialization for both teachers and students—it is easier for both, but poorly adapted to the purposes of general education; and finally, get out of the wilderness of catalogs, courses, credits and counselors, and decide upon a plan, a purpose, a genuinely human objective which our system of higher

education is so adequately organized to provide, and which it so obviously lacks.

FREDERIC S. KLEIN

Franklin and Marshall College
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A Critical Analysis of Richard Hooker's "Theory of the Relation of the Church and State." By Cletus F. Dirksen, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1947. Pp. viii, 148.

This dissertation, submitted to the Graduate School of Notre Dame "in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy" is a most enlightening publication on the attitude of the Catholic Church toward the vexing problem of our day—the relationship of Church and State. After giving a short account of the life and importance of Richard Hooker and the historical background of his day, Dr. Dirksen considers the theological background as viewed in the light of Catholic doctrine, which is taken as the criterion. Following this discussion, the author studies Hooker's views on the nature of the State and of the Church, that Churchman's theory on Church-State relationship, and his influence on English Nationalism, closing with a chapter on the conclusions which can be drawn from the study.

Hooker developed the "via media" between the Romanists and the Puritans who were both endeavoring to gain the predominance in the Church of England that had so recently been brought into being during the reign of Henry VIII and was being more firmly established during the reign of Elizabeth. Due to the force of his keen intellect it was possible for Hooker to sway the thinking of his day to such an extent that the Church of England might be called a monument to his writings contained in eight books entitled "Laws of the Ecclesiastical Policy."

In these Laws, Hooker follows the principle of the Reformers that there existed an Invisible and a Visible Church, an innovation quite at variance with the Catholic doctrine that "the Church is one, supernatural, visible and invisible, the Mystical Body of Christ, through the Incarnation of the Son of God" (p. 98). The Invisible Church is "the Church of salvation. . . It alone is the true Church. It is the real means of intercommunication between God and man" (p. 103). For Hooker, beside this Invisible

Church there also existed the Visible Church which was the social organization of the Church with an Ecclesiastical Polity founded on the Law of Nature, supplemented by the Scriptures.

Hooker did not deny the authority of the Bible, but he did deny that it gave a complete system of church polity. Its broad outlines must be supplemented by reason. Therefore, Hooker concluded that though some things were not subject to civil authority because they were directly supernatural, those things which were not directly supernatural, being derived in the same manner as civil polity, were under the jurisdiction of the civil polity. Hence, the public regiment of the Visible Church was in the hands of the civil authority (p. 119).

It therefore followed that Queen Elizabeth was the head of this Visible Church.

But "in the Catholic theory, because the Church is universal, the State is not supreme but is limited by the right and supernatural authority of the Church. In Hooker's theory, the power of the State is enhanced so that it alone is the only supreme visible authority under God . . . Such enhancement of the State's power is one of the first requirements for the growth of Nationalism" (pp. 132,133). Dirksen complains that "once the supernatural character of religion as a society is destroyed human nature finds an outlet, which is nationalism. God has been removed too far for personal contact and the State is made a substitute" (p. 133).

For the Catholic, this volume is an added bulwark to his early training that places the Church and loyalty to its teachings far above loyalty to any other human institution. For the Protestant, it is an explanation of the Catholic position in this present day of chaos but, of course, in no way does it bring him to accept that position. For the non-Christian, it provides interesting material to crystallize his thinking in regard to the conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and Communism.

Olney High School
Philadelphia, Pa.

FREDERICK WETTER, JR.

Basic Issues of American Democracy, A Book of Readings. By Hillman M. Bishop and Samuel Hendel. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948. Pp. 323. \$3.00.

The editors of this volume, two members of the department of government at the College of the City of New York, have a firm conviction that "in the introductory political science course, it is desirable to give considerable attention to the study of fundamental and persistent issues in our democracy. It is our belief that descriptive phases of government should not be emphasized to the neglect of basic issues and their underlying values, foremost among which are those relating to the democratic creed itself." They quote from a recent statement by F. O. Wilcox, Chairman of the American Political Science Association's Committee on Undergraduate Instruction and from the recent report of President Truman's Commission on Higher Education to indicate the importance of giving "adequate attention to the concept of democracy."

The selections chosen for inclusion in this volume come from a variety of sources, both contemporary and historical. They are arranged in five parts: The Science of Politics; Democracy in a Changing World; The Living Constitution; Some Problems of Political Control; and Some Problems of American Foreign Policy. Included are writings of such men as James Bryce, R. M. MacIver, Harold Laski, Carl Becker, John Stuart Mill, V. I. Lenin, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. and James Madison. They are taken from speeches, essays, monographs, pamphlets, and Supreme Court decisions. Some of them are three or four pages in length and some are ten pages.

The uses of such a volume are many and varied. At the college level this book would make an excellent collateral text for a course in introductory social science, political institutions, or American history. In the senior high school this would make an excellent reference book for classes in American history or in modern problems. Even at the junior high school level this volume should prove of value with the better readers and more mature pupils. They would not understand it all, but much of it would be within their comprehension, especially with the aid of good assignments. Social studies teachers at all levels will find this a suggestive and stimulating volume. It belongs in their professional collection as well as on the shelves of school and college libraries. It should be mentioned that the publishers have not seen

fit to provide an index. Even without this, the book is extremely useful and deserves the attention of social studies teachers.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

State Teachers College
Cortland, New York

Introducing Washington, D. C. By Clara Bishop MacIntyre. Washington, D. C.: Anderson House, 1948. Pp. 83. Illustrated. \$3.00.

This valuable book should help visitors to enjoy their stay in Washington, D. C. The author has divided the city into twelve geographic areas and has described the attractions of each area in separate sections of the book. The work is well illustrated with splendid photographs of important places that should be visited during a sight-seeing tour of the nation's capital. There are two chapters devoted to nearby historical points of interest, which are within easy driving distance of Washington, D. C., and to suggestions about places to eat while on these trips. The author is to be commended upon the preparation of this book as all details seem to have been investigated with the greatest amount of care. The places selected for eating and recreation are well chosen. It is indeed a pleasure to recommend a book of this type for classroom use and to the sponsors of classes taking annual trips to Washington, D. C.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Social Disorganization. By Robert E. L. Faris. New York: The Ronald Press, 1948. Pp. xv, 474. \$4.50.

A book intended for use as a college text in courses dealing with the subject of social disorganization.

War, Politics and Insanity. By C. S. Bluemel. Denver, Colorado: The World Press, Inc., 1948. Pp. xi, 117.

An interesting book written by a well-qualified psychiatrist describing the effect of defeat on politicians.

A Short History of Civilization. By Lynn Thorndike. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948. Pp. xl, 688. \$5.00.

Revised edition of an excellent text describing the history of civilization from ancient times to the present.

The Man in the Street. By Thomas A. Bailey. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. xxvii, 334. \$5.00.

This book tells how public pressure molds the actions of Congress, the State Department and the President, how "hyphenated" Americans, such as German-Americans and Irish-Americans, introduce lively elements into American society, and how our wars have been hampered by public opinion.

A Guide to Public Opinion Polls. By George Gallup. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1948. Pp. 117. \$2.50.

A completely revised edition, contains a discussion of a number of new questions that have arisen during the last four years of opinion measurement.

Europe in Our Times—1914 to the Present. By Robert Ergang. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1948. Pp. xxi, 730. \$5.00.

An account of Europe since 1914 that will give the student an intelligent understanding of the history of our time.

Freedom to Live and Learn. By Gertrude Noar. Philadelphia: Franklin Publishing and Supply Company, 1948. Pp. xvi, 159. \$6.60.

This fine text for pupils of junior high school level gives practical help with the techniques in a core-curriculum. It is indispensable to teachers in service, college students of education, and curriculum-study groups.

American Rural Life. By David Edgar Lindstrom. New York: The Ronald Press. Pp. xx, 385. \$4.00.

A textbook in sociology for students and professional workers in rural sociology. It should enable rural young men and women to become acquainted with the basic sociology of rural life, in a national rather than a local setting.

The Capture of Damietta. By Oliver of Paderborn. Translated by John J. Gavigan. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948. Pp. ix, 112. \$1.25.

A volume in the series, "Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History." It treats the Fifth Crusade, "one of the most interesting and least known episodes in medieval history, and Oliver's is the most detailed account left by any participant therein."

Index

The Social Studies, Volume XXXIX

Continuing The Historical Outlook

January-December, 1948

AUTHORS

- Ahl, Frances Norene, Postwar New Zealand, 24.
- Barr, John, Freedom and Security, 200; John Maynard Keynes, 115.
- Bauer, Richard H., The Study of History, 150, 220, 267, 303.
- Blake, Wainwright D. and Peck, Vera G., Our Northern and Southern Neighbors: A Unit, 173.
- Bloom, Lewis G., Greene, Max and Harvey, C. C., What Social Changes Should Be Reflected in the Social Studies Curriculum? 79.
- Brown, Ralph Adams, Help Win the Peace, 170.
- Cole, Beverly A., A Critical Battle of Modern Times, 355.
- Cowherd, R. G., Russia's Power of Expansion, 195.
- Craf, John R., A Survey of the Marshall Plan, 256; John Maynard Keynes, British Economist, 312; Free Enterprise in the United States, 343.
- Dix, John P., Benjamin Franklin, Father of American Ingenuity, 1706-1790, 16; George Washington, Father of His Country, 68; Washington and Jefferson's Contemporaries, 106; Andrew Jackson, Representative of American Frontier Democracy, 160; Abraham Lincoln, Protector of the American Union, 208.
- Dresden, Katharine, We "Read" 144 Periodicals a Week, 251.
- Eyer, J. Pope, Progressive Practices in Sociology Teaching, 104; A High School Prison Survey, 260.
- Eckhauser, Irwin A., Visual and Other Aids, 81, 128, 177, 230, 272, 364.
- Enebom, George, Election to the Presidency, 291.
- Elder, Robert E., The Marshall Plan, 158; An Experiment with the Problem Method in Social Science, 317.
- Farrow, Elsie B., The Man Who Named Antarctica and His Expedition, 359.
- Fleischer, Robert D., Detection and Counteraction of Propaganda, 8.
- Gooden, Herbert B., Magnetic Recorders in the Social Studies, 248.
- Govorchin, Gerald G., The Political Structure of the New Yugoslavia, 315.
- Greene, Max, Harvey, C. C. and Bloom, Lewis G., What Social Changes Should Be Reflected in the Social Studies Curriculum? 79.
- Guinness, Ralph B., New Viewpoints in Teaching Better Intercultural Relations, 120; Education and Human Welfare, 341.
- Guy, Frank Shaw, The Social Studies Curriculum in the General Arts Course, 60.
- Hansome, Ione, William Morris: Social Idealist, 346.
- Harr, David W., Book Reviews and Book Notes, 279, 327, 369.
- Harvey, C. C., Bloom, Lewis G. and Greene, Max, What Social Changes Should Be Reflected in the Social Studies Curriculum? 79.
- Heathcote, Charles William, The Meaning and Interpretation of History, 5.
- Hesseltine, William B. and Wolf, Hazel C., Lincoln, the Governors, and States' Rights, 350.
- Hill, Dorothy Kent, Kitchen and Banquet, 205.
- Irwin, Leonard B., News and Comment, 32, 82, 129, 178, 232, 274, 323, 365.
- Israel, Saul, Teaching the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, 102.
- Jacobsen, Paul S., The Colgate Washington Study Plan, 171.
- Kreider, Ira, Book Reviews and Book Notes, 36, 86, 133, 182, 235.
- Kyte, George W., Crisis in France: Charles de Gaulle versus the Communists, 3.
- Lottick, Kenneth V., The Evaluation of Ethical Discrimination, 57.
- McPherson, J. Roland, Why Teach Introductory Economics, 28.
- May, Arthur J., Commemorating 1848, 339.
- Mayer, Frederick, Machiavelli: Teacher of our Time, 65; The Illusion of Normalcy, 254.
- Mulholland, Walter E., Freshmen, Psychology, and the Community, 320.
- Odell, A. M., College Students Counter on Cheating Charges, 124.
- Peck, Vera G. and Blake, Wainwright D., Our Northern and Southern Neighbors: A Unit, 173.
- Peters, Charles C., Teaching History and the Social Studies for Citizenship Training, 53.
- Prufer, Julius F., Development of Political Parties in the United States, 1679-1948, 261.
- Rosenberger, Homer T., What Should We Do with Our Criminals? 10.
- Ross, A. Franklin, The Schools and National Welfare, 147.
- Smith, Ronald O., Leadership Training Classes, 123.

Solis-Cohen, R. T., Pertinent Pamphlets, 44, 93, 138, 188, 240, 286, 335.

Swindler, R. E., Democracy and the People's Peace, 99.

Van Leuvan, Daniel L., Use of Local Historical Documents in Teaching the Social Studies, 26.

Widmer, Marie, Woodcarving in the Bernese Oberland, Switzerland, 76.

Wolf, Hazel C. and Hesseltine, William B., Lincoln, the Governors, and States' Rights, 350.

Woody, Thomas, Some Factors of Change in Czechoslovakia, 245.

ARTICLES

Antarctica and His Expedition, The Man Who Named, Elsie B. Farrow, 359.

Arts Course, The Social Studies Curriculum in the General, Frank Shaw Guy, 60.

Battle of Modern Times, A Critical, Beverly A. Cole, 355.

Book Reviews and Book Notes, Ira Kreider, 36, 86, 133, 182, 235, David W. Harr, 279, 327, 369.

Cheating Charges, College Students Counter on, A. M. Odell, 124.

Citizenship Training, Teaching History and the Social Studies for, Charles C. Peters, 53.

Civil Rights, Teaching the Report of the President's Committee on, Saul Israel, 102.

Colgate Washington Study Project, The, Paul S. Jacobsen, 171.

Commemorating 1848, Arthur J. May, 339.

Community, Freshmen, Psychology and the, Walter E. Mulholland, 320.

Criminals? What Should We Do with Our, Homer T. Rosenberger, 10.

Critical Battle of Modern Times, A, Beverly A. Cole, 355.

Current Publications Received, 47, 96, 144, 192, 240, 288, 335, 380.

Curriculum in the General Arts Course, The Social Studies, Frank Shaw Guy, 60.

Curriculum? What Social Changes Should Be Reflected in the Social Studies, C. C. Harvey, Lewis G. Bloom and Max Greene, 79.

Czechoslovakia, Some Factors of Change in, Thomas Woody, 245.

de Gaulle versus the Communists, Crisis in France, Charles, George W. Kyte, 3.

Democracy and the People's Peace, R. E. Swindler, 99.

Documents in Teaching the Social Studies, Use of Local Historical, Daniel L. Van Leuvan, 26.

Economics? Why Teach Introductory, J. Roland McPherson, 28.

Education and Human Welfare, Ralph B. Guinness, 341.

Election to the Presidency, George Ehnebm, 291.

Ethical Discrimination, The Evaluation of, Kenneth V. Lottick, 57.

France, Charles de Gaulle versus the Communists, Crisis in, George W. Kyte, 3.

Franklin, Father of American Ingenuity, 1706-1790, Benjamin, John P. Dix, 16.

Free Enterprise in the United States, John R. Craf, 343.

Freedom and Security, John Barr, 200.

Freshmen, Psychology, and the Community, Walter E. Mulholland, 320.

Human Welfare, Education and, Ralph B. Guinness, 341.

Intercultural Relations, New Viewpoints in Teaching Better, Ralph B. Guinness, 120.

Jackson, Representative of American Frontier Democracy, Andrew, John P. Dix, 160.

Jefferson's Contemporaries, Washington and, John P. Dix, 106.

Keynes, John Maynard, John Barr, 115.

Keynes, British Economist, John Maynard, John R. Craf, 312.

Kitchen and Banquet, Dorothy Kent Hill, 205.

Leadership Training Classes, Ronald O. Smith, 123.

Lincoln, Protector of the American Union, Abraham, John P. Dix, 208.

Lincoln, the Governors, and States' Rights, William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf, 350.

Machiavelli: Teacher of our Time, Frederick Mayer, 65.

Marshall Plan, The, Robert E. Elder, 158.

Marshall Plan, A Survey of the, John R. Craf, 256.

Meaning and Interpretation of History, The, Charles William Heathcote, 5.

Morris: Social Idealist, William Ione Hansome, 346.

Neighbors: A Unit, Our Northern and Southern, Wainwright D. Blake and Vera G. Peck, 173.

New Zealand, Postwar, Frances Norrene Ahl, 24.

News and Comment, Leonard B. Irwin, 32, 82, 129, 178, 232, 274, 323, 365.

Normalcy, The Illusion of, Frederick Mayer, 254.

Northern and Southern Neighbors: A Unit, Our, Wainwright D. Blake and Vera G. Peck, 173.

Parties in the United States, 1679-1948, Development of Political, Julius F. Prufer, 261.

Peace, Democracy and the People's, R. E. Swindler, 99.

Peace, Help Win the, Ralph Adams Brown, 170.

Periodicals a Week, We "Read" 144, Katharine Dresden, 251.

Pertinent Pamphlets, R. T. Solis-Cohen, 44, 93, 138, 188, 240, 286, 335.

Prison Survey, A High School, J. Pope Dyer, 260.

Problem Method in Social Science, An Experiment with the, Robert E. Elder, 317.

Propaganda, Detection and Counteraction of, Robert D. Fleischer, 8.

Psychology, and the Community, Freshmen, Walter E. Mulholland, 320.

Recorders in the Social Studies, Magnetic, Herbert B. Gooden, 248.

Russia's Power of Expansion, R. G. Cowherd, 195.

Sociology Teaching, Progressive Practices in, J. Pope Dyer, 104.

Study of History, The, Richard H. Bauer, 150, 220, 267, 303.

Switzerland, Woodcarving in the Bernese Oberland, Marie Widmer, 76.

Visual and Other Aids, Irwin A. Eckhauser, 81, 128, 177, 230, 272, 364.

Washington and Jefferson's Contemporaries, John P. Dix, 106.

Washington, Father of His Country, George, John P. Dix, 68.

Welfare, The Schools and National, A. Franklin Ross, 147.

Woodcarving in the Bernese Oberland, Switzerland, Marie Widmer, 76.

Yugoslavia, The Political Structure of the New, Gerald G. Govorchin, 315.

BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

Arranged Alphabetically by Authors' Names

(Reviewer's Name in Parentheses)

Aldrich, Julian C. and Markert, Marlow A., We, the Citizens: Senior Problems in Civic Responsibilities, 238.

Atwood, Wallace W. and Pitt, Ruth E., Our Economic World, 236. (R. T. Solis-Cohen)

Bailard, Virginia and McKown, Harry C., So You Were Elected, 90. (R. T. Solis-Cohen)

Bartlett, Ruhl J., The Record of American Diplomacy, 36. (Norman D. Palmer)

Bates, Nancy Bell, East of the Andes and West of Nowhere, 89. (John Carson)

Bean, Louis H., How to Predict Elections 327. (James S. McAfee)

Benjamin, Harold, Under Their Own Command, 37. (Elmer A. Lissfelt)

Bishop, Hillman M., and Hendel, Samuel, Basic Issues of American Democracy, A Book of Readings, 379. (Ralph Adams Brown)

Bossard, James H. S., The Sociology of Child Development, 369. (Marian Rayburn Brown)

Boulding, Kenneth E., Economic Analysis, 375. (William R. Howell)

Brant, Irving, James Madison the Nationalist, 1780-1787, 279. (Ralph Adams Brown)

Brunn, Geoffrey, The World in the Twentieth Century, 328. (Garton S. Greene)

Bryant, Alice Franklin, The Sun Was Darkened, 137.

Butts, R. Freeman, A Cultural History of Education, 334. (Ralph Adams Brown)

Carr, William G., One World in the Making, 135. (R. T. Solis-Cohen)

Castaneda, C. E., Delaney, Eleanor C., Cutright, Prudence and Charters, W. W., The Lands of Middle America, 137.

Clinard, Outten Jones, Japan's Influence on American Naval Power 1897-1917, 279. (Wallace R. Klinger)

Coale, Ansley J., The Problem of Reducing Vulnerability to Atomic Bombs, 86. (Austin L. Porterfield)

Coulter, E. Merton, The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877, 133. (Mildred Bair Lissfelt)

Craf, John R., A Survey of the American Economy, 1940-1946, 236. (Arthur C. Bining)

Craven, Avery and Johnson, Walter, The United States—Experiment in Democracy, 38. (R. T. Solis-Cohen)

Detjen, Mary Ford and Detjen, Ervin Winfred, Your Plans for the Future, 282. (Marian Rayburn Brown)

Dilts, Marion May, The Pageant of Japanese History, 137. (Wallace R. Klinger)

Dirksen, Cletus F., A Critical Analysis of Richard Hooker's "Theory of the Relation of the Church and State," 378. (Frederick Wetter, Jr.)

Doob, Leonard W., Public Opinion and Propaganda, 371. (Ralph P. Holben)

Douglass, Harl R. and Grieder, Calvin, American Public Education: An Introduction, 372. (James A. Killough)

Dunaway, Wayland Fuller, History of the Pennsylvania State College, 42. (Phillip S. Klein)

Eckel, Paul E., The Far East Since 1500, 90.

Edidin, Ben M., Jewish Community Life in America, 184. (Ira Kreider)

Edmondston, C. M. and Hyde, M. L. F., King's Man, 283.

Edwards, Newton and Richey, Herman C., The School in the American Social Order, 284. (Ralph Adams Brown)

Ewing, Cortez A. M., Congressional Elections, 1896-1944, 92. (W. V. Badger)

Executive Committee of the Cooperative Study in General Education, Cooperation in General Education, 39. (Arthur Dondineau)

Flink, S. J., American Economy, 376. (J. F. Santee)

Franklin, John Hope, From Slavery to Freedom, A History of the American Negroes, 134. (Mildred Bair Lissfelt)

Fuess, Claude M. and Basford, Emory S., Unseen Harvests: A Treasury of Teaching, 186. (Walker D. Wyman)

Grayzel, Solomon, A History of the Jews: From the Babylonian Exile to the End of World War II, 237. (Frances Fox Sandmel)

Greenan, John F., Everyday Problems of America Democracy, 375. (Alice Hannigan)

Hatch, Alden, Woodrow Wilson: A Biography for Young People, 136.

Holbrook, Stewart H., The Story of American Railroads, 133. (William G. Tyrrell)

Integration of the Humanities and the Social Sciences, 377. (Frederic S. Klein)

Kaplan, Mordecai, The Future of the American Jew, 331. (R. T. Solis-Cohen)

Kilpatrick, William Heard and Van Til, William, Intercultural Attitudes in the Making, 187. (Elmer A. Lissfelt)

Kimball, Marie, Jefferson: War and Peace, 1776-1784, 90. (Donald H. Stewart)

Kinsey, Alfred C., Pomeroy, Wardell B. and Martin, Clyde E., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, 285. (Elmer Pogar)

Kunitz, Joshua, Russia: The Giant That Came Last, 136. (Allegra Woodworth)

Landes, Ruth, The City of Women, 39. (J. F. Santee)

- MacIntyre, Clara Bishop, *Introducing Washington, D. C.*, 380.
- May, Arthur James, *Europe and Two World Wars*, 88. (Ira Kreider)
- Merrill, Francis E., *Social Problems on the Home Front: A Study of War-Time Influences*, 330. (Wilfred T. Grenfell)
- Newcomb, Theodore M. and Hartley, Eugene L., *Readings in Social Psychology*, 185. (J. F. Santee)
- Payne, Robert, *China Awake*, 239.
- Peters, Charles C., *Teaching High School History and Social Studies for Citizenship Training*, 283. (Guy V. Price)
- Peterson, Florence, *Survey of Labor Economics*, 89.
- Roth, Cecil, *The House of Nasi, Dona Gracia*, 373. (Joseph S. Roucek)
- Post, C. Gordon, DeLancy, Frances P. and Darby, Fredryc R., *Basic Constitutional Cases*, 327. (J. F. Santee)
- Roucek, Joseph S., *Governments and Politics Abroad*, 43. (Wilfred T. Grenfell)
- Sloan, Harold S., *Farming in America*, 87. (Harold T. Pinkett)
- Stearns, Raymond Phineas, *Pageant of Europe*, 135. (Albert R. Brinkman)
- Steinberg, Samuel and Knowlton, Daniel C., *The American Way in Community Life*, 332. (Ira Kreider)
- Strang, Ruth, *The Role of the Teacher in Personnel Work*, 281. (Walter E. Mulholland)
- Thompson, Charles O. F., *A History of the Declaration of Independence*, 282. (Ira Kreider)
- Tomlinson, Edward, *Battle for the Hemisphere*, 38. (Alfred Hasbrouck)
- Torrence, Ridgely, *The Story of John Hope*, 374. (Carlos de Zafra, Jr.)
- Toynbee, Arnold J., *Civilization On Trial*, 370. (Thomas K. Meyer)
- UNESCO, *Report of a Special Committee, Fundamental Education. Common Ground for All Peoples*, 182. (Richard H. McFeely)
- Vance, Marguerite, Martha: Daughter of Virginia. *The Story of Martha Washington*, 239.
- Walker, Stanley, *Journey Toward the Sunlight: A Story of the Dominican Republic and its People*, 280. (Alfred Hasbrouck)
- Wallgank, T. Walter, *India: A Survey of the Heritage and Growth of Indian Nationalism*, 332. (Robert L. Anderson)
- Walsh, Edmund A., *Total Power: A Footnote to History*, 329. (William V. Badger)
- Wickes, Frances G., *The Inner World of Man*, 334. (Marian Rayburn Brown)
- Wilcox, Walter W., *The Farmer in the Second World War*, 41. (Harold T. Pinkett)
- Winther, Oscar Osburn, *The Great Northwest*, 235. (J. F. Santee)
- Wittenberg, Rudolph M., *So You Want to Help People: A Mental Hygiene Primer for Group Leaders*, 183. (Marian Rayburn Brown)
- Wright, Louis B., *The Atlantic Frontier; Colonial American Civilization, 1607-1763*, 88. (Ralph Adams Brown)

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